THE LIBERATOR
IS PUBLISHED
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,
AT THE
ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent.

☞ Terms—Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, in advance.

☞ Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN DOLLARS, if payment be made in advance.

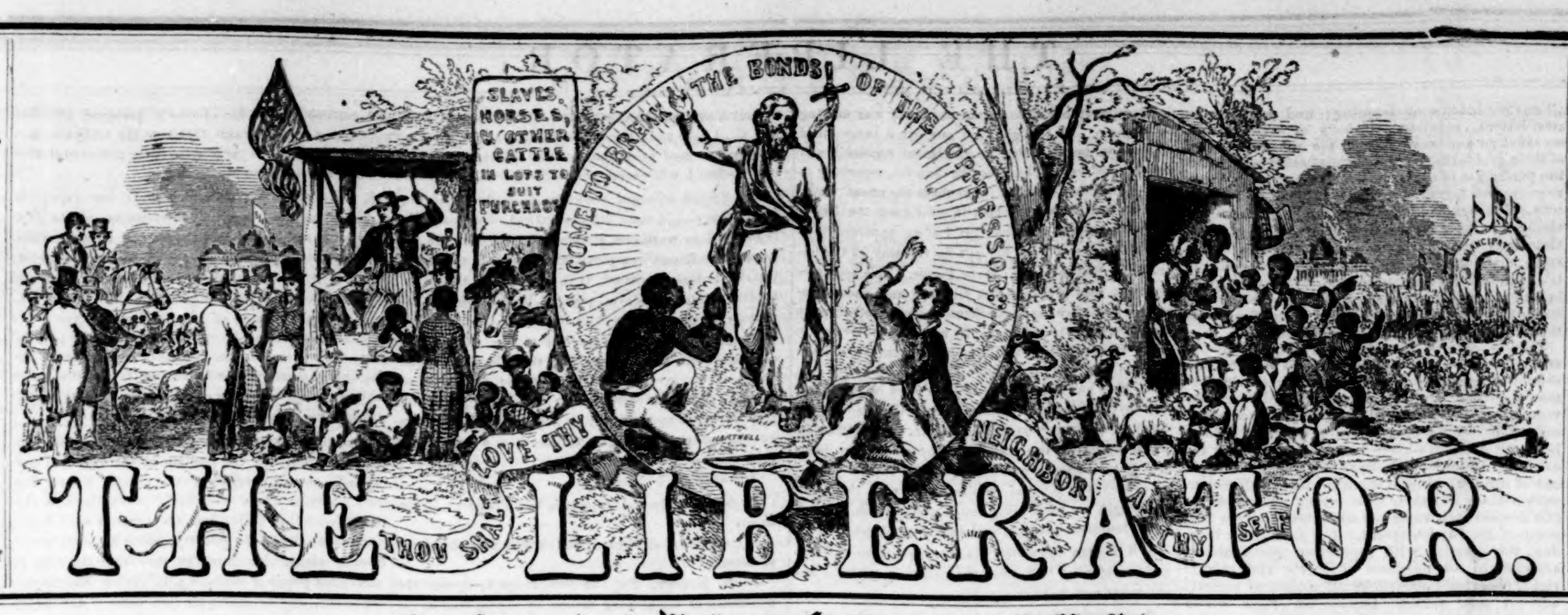
☞ All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent.

☞ Advertisements making less than one square inserted three times for 75 cents—one square for $1 00.

☞ The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for the Liberator.

☞ The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz.:—Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray Loring, Edmund Quincy, Samuel Philbrick, and Wendell Phillips.

☞ In the columns of The Liberator, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.



No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions TO SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons . . . . . in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—*John Quincy Adams.*

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. | Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. | J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXVI. NO. 5. | BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1856. | WHOLE NUMBER 1126.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the New York Observer.

INDIANS AND ABOLITIONISTS.

Another of the disastrous consequences of uncalled for interference with the institutions of other communities, appears in the recent action of the Cherokee Territorial Legislature. For a long series of years, while the missionaries have been permitted, among them and other tribes, to pursue their labors undisturbed by foreign influences, a public sentiment was gradually growing up, which was working the removal of slavery from the midst of the Indian tribes. This was the case emphatically with the Choctaws and Cherokees. We had occasion, last year, repeatedly to speak of the unhappy results that were transpiring in the midst of the Choctaw people. There we saw stringent legislation calculated to retard the progress of emancipation, and to shut out, as far as law could effect it, the influences of religious education from the minds of the children of the black population. Now we have occasion to record measures in the same direction pursued by the legislature of the Cherokees.

It seems to us impossible for any candid man to doubt, that if the missionary labors among this people had been suffered to be pursued without interference, and they had been allowed, according to the light of the Word of God, and their own sound judgment, to adopt those measures and to present those views of truth which appeared to them best fitted to promote the glory of God, and the highest interests of the semi-civilized people among whom they were called to labor,—that the condition of the few slaves among the Indians would have been gradually ameliorated, and that the evil of slavery would have been removed as soon as was consistent with the best interests of all concerned. When, therefore, we find that legislation among these tribes is taking another direction, and is looking to the perpetuity rather than to the removal of the system of slavery, it is impossible for us, and we think it equally impossible for any others concerned, to point to any causes for the unhappy retrogression, except in the injudicious attempt of those who endeavored to hasten results which cannot be precipitated without disaster.

Therefore, however much we regret that the Indian tribes should employ their early legislation to oppose the elevation of those under their power, we feel that they are not so much to blame as the men whose rash counsels have instigated the Indians to such opposition.

The following act was lately introduced into their Territorial Legislature, and was passed, but we are happy to learn that it did not become a law, having been vetoed by the chief.

AN ACT FOR THE PROTECTION OF SLAVERY IN THE CHEROKEE NATION.

Whereas, The Cherokee people are, and have been for many years, a slaveholding people; and whereas, the Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation recognize the Institution of Slavery, introduced and taught by their preceptors, the whites; and whereas, some of the missionary churches now situate in this Nation have expelled some of our Cherokee citizens from the participation of church privileges, because they refused to emancipate their slaves, and others have been threatened with expulsion; and wheres, the Cherokee people, deeply impressed with a feeling of gratitude towards the same missionaries, for the countless and manifold blessings which they have bestowed upon them, would not extend to them any civilities unbecoming to Christian people, but would rather, as they value the stability of their local institutions, indispensable to their prosperity as a nation, extend to them the cordial hand of friendship, consistent with their own national interests:—

Be it enacted by the National Council, That the Cherokees have claimed for many years past, and do claim at present, to be a slaveholding people in a Christian-like spirit.

Be it further enacted, That the principal Chief be, and he is hereby, authorized to open a communication with the different Boards of Missions having stations in this Nation, touching upon the institution of slavery as a church principle, and report the said communication to the next Council.

Be it further enacted, That it shall be unlawful for any missionary to counsel or advise any slave, any way whatever, to the detriment of his owner or owners, under a penalty of being removed out of the limits of this Nation; and it is hereby made the duty of the solicitor of each district, to report all missionaries so offending to the agent, who is hereby requested to place them beyond the limits of our Nation.

Be it further enacted, That it shall not be lawful for any citizen of this Nation to advise or counsel any slave to the prejudice of his owner or ownets, and any person so offending, upon conviction before any of the District Courts, shall be required to pay a fine of not less than twenty-five nor exceeding one hundred dollars, at the discretion of the Court, for the benefit of the injured person.

Be it further enacted, That it is hereby made unlawful for the Superintendent of Public Schools to employ or continue as teacher, in any public school of this Nation, any person known to be an abolitionist, or whose influence is opposed to the interest of the slaveholders.

Be it further enacted, That it shall not be lawful for the National Treasurer to issue a permit to any known abolitionist.

A NEW ENGLAND LADY'S DEFENCE OF MISSOURIANS.

The New Haven *Register* publishes the following extract from a private letter from a lady (formerly of New Haven county,) for the last five years a resident of Western Missouri, (as principal of an academy,) to her brother in New Haven, dated

'Miami, Saline Co., Nov. 26, 1855.

You ask me to tell you something about the Kansas and Missouri troubles. Of course, you know in what they have originated. There is no denying but what the Missourians have determined to control the elections, if possible; and I don't know that their measures would be justifiable, except upon the principle of self-preservation; and that, you know, is the first law of nature. They certainly had just as good a right to go there and vote, as the abolition party at the north had to send their minions by the hundreds and thousands, who had no other business there. Had the question been left to be decided by the actual settlers of the territory, Missouri would never have interfered. However, it was not upon the right or wrong of the question, that I intended to say anything; but upon the character of those whom the northern press has assailed with all the opprobrious epithets that could be thought of. I know, either personally or by report, a large majority of the men who have been in these expeditions from Lafayette and Saline counties, and presume they may be regarded as a tolerable fair sample of the balance; and I do assure you that they are the very best portion of society, and as good men and true as can be found in any portion of our country—men distinguished for character and integrity, and every virtue that renders a man a valuable citizen. (!) *Many of them are professors of religion, and of unblemished Christian character.* (!!) Such I *know* to be a large proportion of the leaders of these expeditions. These are the men whom the northern press stigmatize as "Stringfellow's myrmidons," "cut-throats," "ruffians," "rowdies," and the like.

That there are some wild, hot-headed young fellows among them is likely, and to be expected; but such as I have described to you, so far as my knowledge extends, is the character of those who have determined to meet the aggressions of the abolitionists, in defence of what they regard as their rights; and were you here, I think you would bid them "God speed."'

THE SOUTH AND KANSAS.

A bill has recently been introduced into one house of the Legislature of Georgia, for the purpose of colonizing Kansas with pro-slavery men. The Richmond *Enquirer* last summer contained an elaborate article, and a strong appeal to the young men of Virginia, exhorting twenty thousand of them to enlist for two years for the purpose of going to Kansas, and fixing the destiny of that new territory in favor of slavery. And recently there appeared in the Columbus (Ga.) *Times* the following article:—

SHALL KANSAS BE SURRENDERED WITHOUT A STRUGGLE?

I wish to raise 300 industrious, sober, discreet, reliable men, capable of bearing arms; not prone to use them wickedly or unnecessarily, but willing to protect their section on every real emergency. I desire to start with them for Kansas by the 20th of February next. To such I will guaranty the donation of a homestead of forty acres of first-rate land, a free passage to Kansas, and the means of support for the first year. To ministers of the gospel, mechanics, and those with good military or agricultural outfits, I will offer greater inducements. Besides devoting $20,000 of my own means to this enterprise, I expect all those who know and have confidence in me, and who feel an interest in the cause, to contribute as much as they are able. I will give to each contributor my obligation that for every fifty dollars so contributed, I will, within six months thereafter, place in Kansas one bona fide settler, able and willing to vote, and fight if need be, for our section, or in default of doing so, that I will, on demand, refund the donation with interest from the day of its receipt. I will keep an account of the obligations so issued, and each successive one shall specify one emigrant more than its immediate predecessor—thus, No. 1 shall pledge me to take one emigrant, No. 2 two, No. 3 three, &c., &c., and if the State makes a contribution, it shall be divided into sums of fifty dollars each, and numbered accordingly. Here is your cheapest and surest chance to do something for Kansas—something toward holding against Free Soil hordes this great Thermopylæ of Southern institutions. In this their day of darkness, nay, of extreme peril, there ought to be, there needs must be, great individual sacrifice, or they cannot be maintained. If we cannot find many who are willing to incur great and equal individual loss in the common cause—if we cannot find some crazy enough to peril even life in the deadly breach, then it is not because individuals have grown more prudent and wise, but because public virtue has decayed, and thereby we have already become unequal to the successful defence of our rights.

November 26th, 1855. J. BUFORD.

NEGRO SLAVERY AND THE CONSTITUTION.

'Until recently, the defence of Slavery has labored under great difficulties, because its apologists (for they were mere apologists) took half-way grounds.

'They confined the defence of Slavery to mere negro Slavery; thereby giving up the Slavery principle, admitting other forms of Slavery to be wrong, and yielding up the authority of the Bible, and of the history, practices, and experience of mankind. They almost admitted the Bible to be false, because it ordained, authorized, and enforced white Slavery, which they asserted was morally wrong. Human experience, showing the universal success of slave society, and the universal failure of free society, was unavailable to them, because they were precluded from employing it by admitting Slavery in the abstract to be wrong. The defence of mere negro Slavery involved them in a still greater difficulty. The laws of all the Southern States justified the holding white men in Slavery, provided, through the mother, they were descended, however remotely, from a negro slave. The bright mulattoes, according to their theory, were wrongfully held in Slavery.'

* * * * * * *

'The line of defence, however, is now changed, and the North is completely cornered, and dumb as an oyster. The South now maintains that Slavery is right, natural, and necessary. It shows that all divine, and almost all human, authority justifies it. The South farther charges, that the little experiment of free society in Western Europe has been, from the beginning, a cruel failure, and that symptoms of failure are abundant in our North. The abolitionists cannot be provoked to deny the charge, so overwhelming are the facts, authorities, and admissions, by which it is sustained; nor will they answer the question, so often put to them, 'What have been the results of the experiment of free society?' They are wholly unwilling to institute a comparison of the two systems of society, and determine that to be right which but promotes human well-being, and is justified by most of human and divine authority. To deal with the subject in this way would, they know, be to surrender their cause. They begin to reason, by assuming Slavery to be morally and religiously wrong; and the South, hitherto, has granted their premises, and attempted to justify negro Slavery as an exception to a general rule, or, if wrong, as a matter of bargain between the North and South. The laws of God and Nature are immutable, and man cannot bargain them away. Whilst it is far more obvious that negroes should be slaves than whites, for they are only fit to labor, not to direct, yet the principle of Slavery is itself right, and does not depend on difference of complexion. Difference of race, of lineage, of language, of habits and customs, all tend to render the institution more natural and durable; and although slaves have been generally whites, still the masters and slaves have generally been of different national descent. Moses and Aristotle, the earliest historians, are both authorities in favor of this difference of race, but not of color.'—*Richmond Examiner.*

SELECTIONS.

From the Anti-Slavery Standard.

IS THE MORALITY OF SLAVEHOLDING DEBATEABLE?

There are certain propositions which, for the sake of maintaining the healthy condition of our own minds, it is best not to debate. Mr. Garrison acted wisely and well, when he refused to enter the lists as a disputant with Toombs, Wise and Atchison, to discuss the ethics of slavery. If the common sense of the world has not settled, for these many centuries, the question of the moral propriety of one man's making a brute and a tool of another, then nothing is settled. If the conscience and reason of slaveholders themselves have not sufficiently indicated, in a thousand forms, their instinctive judgment against the soul murder, which the successful maintenance of the authority of a slave master involves and requires, then there is no conscience and reason left to be the arbiters in such high debate; but the madness and hardness of utter reprobation have carried them beyond the reach of logic and expostulation.

It is not argument that the slaveholders and their Northern abettors need, but *denunciation;* because it is not a mistaken opinion, out of which they are to be persuaded, but a torpid and asphixied moral sense to be roused by sharp and irritant rebuke. To argue in the premises is the grossest misconception of the whole subject, a mistake which no cogency of reasoning can retrieve. While the Christian sentiment of this country stood meekly arguing for fifty years against the righteousness of slavery, slavery grew and flourished, added new territories to its domains, new millions to its victims. When Garrison and his compeers thundered forth their terrible denunciation against it, it began to reel and stagger to its fall. It was not that he brought to the discussion any new arguments, but because he gave expression in fit language to the instinctive reprehension of the enlightened human soul against such a monstrosity of cruelty and wickedness. It was not a more able essay of an old experiment, it was the inauguration of a new method. Hence its effectiveness. It gave birth to the anti-slavery spirit that has, at length, almost marshalled the slow masses of the North into face-to-face contest with slavery, and while various organizations, political and ecclesiastical, are feebly struggling to accomplish its purposes, and various influences, literary and social, are partially interpreting its principles, this holy faith in freedom rallies the broken organizations after their defeat into more powerful combinations, and becomes the central fire that gives warmth and life to the whole movement.

There has been a great deal of *namby-pamby* deprecation of the terms in which the primitive Abolitionists have clothed their rebukes. This has been even widely indulged in by persons whose opposition to the iniquity of slaveholding is sincere, and whose influence against it has been consistent. When the slaveholders have been called robbers, man-thieves, pirates, and the societies of slaveholders, calling themselves Christians, have been denominated '*Brotherhoods of Thieves,*' conservative listeners have been shocked. Quiet people have turned pale with reprehension, and swung themselves out of churches, slamming pew-doors. Weak brethren have turned back, and walked no more with their uncompromising leaders. The use of such language has been imputed to anger, and considered to be, at the very mildest, in the worst possible taste. 'Injudicious, fatally injudicious!' have exclaimed many well-meaning members of churches; 'no man was ever converted by denunciation,' &c., &c., to the end of the chapter.

Now, whether the Abolitionists have spoken in anger or not is very little to the purpose. If they were angry, it is an anger which is very becoming to them, and very honorable to our common nature. It is so righteous an anger that the sun might well be allowed to go down upon it many times. But while the Abolitionists have been inveighed against as irate, even to the verge of fanaticism, *they* have only been perplexed because the language was so feeble in epithets, with which fully to describe their indignation against the crimes of slavery, that kindred crimes, from which they have sometimes ventured to borrow figures of speech, were tame and white beside the fierce and dark enormity. They have been annoyed, that having called a man a *slaveholder,* such had been the debasement of the popular conscience, that it was necessary to prefix adjectives to make the word abhorrent, or go into a course of argument to refute the phantasy, that such a man could be a Christian. For such has been the corruption which the sorcery of slavery has brought about, that the term itself has lost its natural repulsiveness, and *slaveholder* is almost as innocent as merchant, guardian, landlord, or any other name of one of the regular and usual offices in civil society—the quality to be known from some adjective, as *kind* slaveholder, or *cruel* slaveholder, and not from the character itself. The Abolitionist has been equally embarrassed in drawing figures of illustration from other human crimes. *Rascal* and *scoundrel* he dismisses as too indefinite, too much hackneyed and softened down by the everyday objurgations of the street. Your rascal and even your scoundrel is but a pitiful and occasional rogue, when compared to the enterprising and stalwart sinner who makes a man a slave. It is infinitely more damaging to a human soul to be a slaveholder, than to be a well-developed rascal or scoundrel. *Thief* is decidedly weak. A man becomes a thief only upon a single depredation of a suit of old clothes. It is sheer *bathos* to help out one's conception of the enormity of making larceny of the *man* the suit of clothes envelopes, and of keeping it up, every morning, for fifty years, by calling such a man a *thief.* The epithet softens the accusation amazingly. *Pirate* is better, but no good rhetorician or accurate thinker would use even that, though it is Mr. Gerrit Smith's favorite illustration. The pirate only murders because murder is necessary to consummate and secure the plunder of his victims: we may even fancy him doing it with considerable repugnance and poignancy of conscience—the slaveholder never stops at murder when the plunder of a man's person is imperilled by his own *fugitiveness* or the interference of an Abolitionist. Beyond this, the comparison breaks down with intrinsic imbecility. Civilized people in Christian countries do not commit piracy. They do not say family prayers over piracy. They do not make it offensive to the very devil, by the cant and drivel of piety. Besides, they do not train their children up to it, and provide for its perpetuity in their wills; but all who do not get hung, shot or drowned, in the cause, seasonably repent.

Murderer is more graphic, because the conception of one great act of crime is more distinct and impressive than a series of greater crimes running through a whole life, or interwoven in a *status* of society. Thus, when Dr. Webster murdered Dr. Parkman, the whole land was shocked and demanded his execution; but when Louis Napoleon murdered the French republicans, it only had the character of a rather rigorous stroke of state, which vindicated the resolution and sagacity of the man who did it.

But *slaveholder* is in itself, of all terms, the most offensive and degrading; and it is probable that, in all coming time, no parricide will arise to 'soil the addition' of the 'Father of his Country,' as Judge Sprague once did, in Faneuil Hall, when, pointing to the portrait of Washington, he exclaimed, '*The slaveholder!*'

As to the good taste of these denunciations, that is a question upon which different opinions may be entertained. It does not seem to us to be in bad taste to speak of three hundred thousand rascals in the same terms that you would of one rascal of the same grade. If Frederick Douglass were the only slave in the land, Mr. Thomas Auld would not be treated with greater courtesy by the public at large. It would require no logic to prove him a wicked and dangerous man. Our good taste would lead us rather to spare the small sinners in the minority, and make the big sinners in the majority smart, if we could.

As to how people are converted, the cases on record are so various that we think it may as well be affirmed that no man was ever converted *until he was denounced,* as that no man was ever converted by denunciation, and, in the meantime, that it was best to follow the promptings of our own spirits. While slaveholders are fawned upon, courted, mildly and deferentially argued with, they will never believe that we loathe and despise them. The pro-slavery presses have not been so silent, nor pro-slavery ministers and cotton merchants so ardent on the side of oppression, that advocates need be summoned from the South to put us in possession of the views that prevail in that region. This is but another form of that folly which has come to look upon slavery and freedom as two legitimate interests in the State, each to be protected and guaranteed within its legitimate sphere. It puts the dispute between anti-slavery and pro-slavery upon the footing of a mere sectarian discussion about non-essentials—a discussion in which it is only ill-mannered to be in earnest, or to lay aside the forms of courtesy and charity. To reduce human beings to cattle is a practice peculiar to tropical regions, and which men engaged in the culture of sugar and cotton naturally fall into. Not to do so is a hyperborean prejudice, a mean economy, peculiar to high latitudes and poor soils. The greater part of our distinguished statesmen look upon the matter thus. Mr. Webster really never got a deeper insight than this of the anti-slavery theory.

Every speech in Congress, every pamphlet, every clerical letter, in support of slavery, discloses this arrant absurdity. Have *you* your free institutions in peace, and give *us* our slavery. Let justice be counterbalanced by injustice—righteousness and wickedness be compromised. Let not God overreach and monopolize, but fairly divide his kingdom with the devil.

To debate such propositions, to entertain them but with abhorrence, is to tamper with human reason, and solicit it. Thank Heaven, there are a few sane men of clear heads and sound hearts, who cannot be seduced to hold parley with the enemies of the rights of the human race, but take refuge in the wiser philosophy of the ancient precept—*Resist the devil, and he will flee from you.* There are melancholy instances enough at the North of men whom much learning hath made mad, and whose madness has developed itself in this very form—men who, like Dr. Lord, Dr. Spring, Dr. Stuart, have settled down into the dreary atheism of holding that God is the author and sustainer of the devilish villanies of American slavery—men who have read, and quibbled, and stuck in the bark of literal Interpretation, and swayed to the comity of pious-seeming rascality, till insanity has seized upon their moral instincts, and they have lost the faculty of distinguishing right and wrong. When men are enchanted with such sorceries, there is no use of writing controversial tracts against them. They must be seized by the shoulder, and roughly shaken by public ridicule, and earnest voices must shout in their ears, *Madman! Fool!*

OPINIONS ON THE MESSAGE.

The President is severely censured by the press for his disquisition on the 'Constitutional Relations of Slavery,' introduced into his annual message. We copy the remarks of some of our contemporaries. The Philadelphia *American and Gazette* says:—

'This extraordinary document, which has been thrust upon the country in violation of all former precedent, and without, so far as we can perceive, any public necessity to justify the departure from settled usage, is calculated, if indeed it was not expressly intended, to do grievous mischief. We do not speak now of those passages which relate to our foreign affairs, or to the internal administration of the government, but of the disquisition on the 'Constitutional Relations of Slavery,' which, in our judgment, is as wholly out of place in the annual message of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic—the head not of a section, but the nation—as it is insulting and offensive to the whole northern portion of the confederacy. We can very well understand why President Pierce, at this particular juncture, when delegates are about to be elected to a National Convention of his party, should seek to conciliate Southern favor, and we are quite willing that he should do so within modest and decent bounds: but the abjectness of his submission almost surpasses belief, and, if we mistake not, will disgust even those whom it was intended to flatter. Among the many objectionable pronunciamentos against the North which have, from time to time, been issued by the Governors of Southern States, we do not remember any one in which the assumptions of wrong doing on the part of the free Commonwealths of this Union have been more unblushingly asserted, or the gentle, patient, forbearing spirit of our slaveholding kinsfolk more pathetically set forth, than in the manifesto signed by the gentleman from New Hampshire, who at present occupies the Presidential chair. It will trouble his Excellency, Gov. Wise of Virginia, to match it.

Of course, Mr. Pierce knew that such declarations as he has here solemnly put on record could have no other effect than to rouse a sentiment of indignation throughout the Northern States, and renew and increase that agitation which all true patriots desire to see forever quieted. And with such knowledge, he will be held justly responsible for the consequences of his act—an act which we are sure the more conservative of his own party cannot but lament, as one that will be certain to stir up bitterness and strife, in and out of Congress, to a degree that, even with all the elements of disturbance previously existing, but for this could not have been paralleled.

After reading this portion of the message, we can see good reason why it was not submitted to a Cabinet meeting, for it is not possible that the citizens of New York and Pennsylvania, who would have formed part of such a council, could have sanctioned or even submitted to such imputations on the loyalty and patriotism of the great States they represent, as are necessarily involved in these general sweeping denunciations.'

The Springfield *Republican* says:

'But the great topic of the message, evidently the most labored and carefully prepared, and yet constituting the great weakness and defect of the document, is its partisan and sectional argument, and appeal on the subject of slavery. As a leader in the Washington *Union,* it would have been in character. In a speech by Frank Pierce on the stump in New Hampshire, it would have been a very creditable effort on the wrong side. But in the message of the President of the United States to Congress, it is monstrous and disgraceful. The President should have made this gross bid for slaveholding support in a letter, and not in his annual message. Not only in the manner but the substance of this mere partisan appeal, he lays himself open largely to the severest censure, and will get it.'

From the Free Presbyterian.

SHAMEFUL.

The Washington correspondents of some of the so-called religious papers are dilating of late on the Christian virtues of Franklin Pierce. He is described as a model Sabbath keeper, a punctual attendant on the preaching of the Gospel and the prayer meeting, as a man of prayer, who keeps up family worship, asks a blessing at his table, &c. All of this seems to be very grateful to the feelings of these pious letter-writers, who evidently regard the President as almost if not altogether fit for the honors of saintship.

Do these men seriously consider the tendency of such teachings? Can they not see that their effect must be to bring the very name of the Christian religion into reproach? The public administration of Franklin Pierce has two prominent characteristics: Imbecile weakness, and God-defying wickedness. He has sent ships of war to batter down and burn the houses of unoffending people, against whom nothing could be alleged, except that they sought to bring an atrocious murderer to justice. In violation of his solemn oath to support the laws and maintain the peace of the country, he has beheld the infant settlements of Kansas invaded by hordes of armed assassins, and all manner of outrage committed against the citizens, without an effort to prevent it. Nay, he has manifestly winked at these infamous proceedings, and has extended the patronage of the government to the paper by which they were mainly incited. Cold-blooded murder is one of the pastimes of these marauders, whose leaders bask in the sunshine of executive favor. The late message of the President is distinguished beyond all its predecessors, for its servile truckling to the slave oligarchy, and for its reckless perversions of the truth of history. And yet in the face of all these disgraceful facts, a race of clerical toadies are uttering their solemn cant over the virtues and piety of the President. They evidently consider his many public crimes and misdemeanors as nothing at all inconsistent with Christian character. Let them succeed in producing this impression, and Christianity must sink into the same contempt and abhorrence with which the public acts of the President are regarded by all upright men. The open enemies of Christianity never aimed so fatal a stab at her vitals. Thomas Paine's infidelity is not a tenth part so dangerous as theirs.

It is strange that these clerical sycophants cannot see that they must be despised by the men they flatter. Although Pierce and his adherents may, through motives of policy, smile on their flatterers, yet it is not in human nature to feel for them anything but contempt. So long as they can be used to debauch the religion of the country, and prevent it uttering its protest against the public crimes of the President, they will be caressed. But when no longer wanted for this purpose, they will be spurned aside with the contempt they deserve. How different the spirit of these fawners from that of glorious old Hugh Latimer, who could say to the bloody and lecherous tyrant of England: 'Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge.' How different from the spirit of the heroic Apostle, before whose reasonings of 'righteousness, temperance, and a judgment to come,' the guilty Felix trembled!

LIGHT PENETRATING VIRGINIA.

Memorial of the Citizens of Virginia, to the General Assembly, asking for certain Reforms in the Laws concerning Slaves and Free Persons of Color.

To the Honorable the Senate and the House of Representatives:—It is under a deep sense of the delicate and peculiar relations of the subject to which your attention is earnestly called, that your memorialists address you. But if its political nature demands caution and deliberation, its moral bearings may still more claim thoughtful investigation, and a calm though prompt action. In the faith that the best policy of the State will always be one with the rectitude of its laws and institutions, and that *right never wronged any man,* we respectfully submit our petition, that the Laws of Virginia may be so modified as—

1. To protect the parental relation, forbidding the separation of parents and young children, at the will of any man or set of men, under criminal penalties.

2. To recognize and secure the marital relation to colored persons; forbidding the disregard of the sacred relation of husband and wife by any man amongst his own slaves, and protecting the same between slaves of different families.

3. To allow persons so disposed to teach persons of color to read, so as better to assist their moral and mental elevation.

Your memorialists readily allow that these claims, which they solemnly submit in behalf of the colored population of the State, are founded on the postulate, that they are something other than mere property; and they insist that the claims of the South, that they shall have peculiar representation in the State and Federal Governments, as well as the special code everywhere found necessary, for them, as distinct from other kinds of property, imply equally certain limitations on the powers of individuals over them. And this necessity for a special treatment of them rests on this fundamental truth: that they have certain natual gifts which suggest culture. If the susceptibility of cultivation in the grass, 'which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven,' makes him a benefactor of his race, 'who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before,' how much nobler is it to assist the germs of thought and feeling, with which God has endowed a race, to their utmost growth and result! Any necessity of thwarting this, so plain a law of nature, is a fearful concession to those who oppose the institution of slavery. To say that they are incapable of culture, is to utter the severest satire on the law which prohibits it, and is to give birth to the solecism, that speech, understanding, and a moral being have not definite objects, as the eye and the ear have. To say that they are a low and degraded race, is only to charge ourselves with a heavier weight of duty in their elevation; since, clearly, the progressive principles, in man, or beast, or vegetable, is the index of improvement and promise of success, and capacity the only limit. Surely, then, they are not mere laborers, and cannot, 'live by bread alone.'

Your memorialists feel this to be the highest law in the universe; and to that they wish to bear witness. They are deeply sensible that any law which dwarfs and impedes the growth and development of any part of God's creation, more especially that which is moral and intelligent, cannot fail to prove a curse, however much our short-sightedness may fancy it a blessing.

The laws which tolerate the separation of parents and children, produce scenes that the Christian heart must characterize as cruel and impious, and worthier the slave-coast in a past generation, than Virginia in this day. They are unchristian in permitting those to be put asunder whom God has joined together under the most solemn circumstances; thus encouraging impure and transient connections between the sexes, and blunting the holiest feelings of the human being; by this brutalizing the race to a degree that should cause even our selfish interests to shudder. They are unwise, because they bring the humanity of our State into question, and cause a painful conflict in the minds of her children, as to whether they shall allow their servants to grow round them in ignorance, as the laws demand, or 'obey God rather than man,' and teach them to 'search the Scriptures.' We have reason to know that some are teaching their slaves in secret, whose sole protection from their own State is that their slaves cannot testify against them! And there must be, in the nature of things, many who are constantly oppressed with the fact that we are faithless enough in not improving our own talents, without a consciousness of our uniting to bury the talent of our helpless fellow-creatures, whose elevation God has confided to us.

Your memorialists have forborne to place their appeal on the lower grounds of interest; for it would be charging our fellow-citizens with ignoble timidity to suppose them afraid to do right: and we believe that they will acknowledge that honesty, even in the old Roman sense—embracing all that is right toward God and man—is the best policy; and that in being true to the higher relations of life, we are truest to ourselves, our families, and our State. But there is nothing that the history, of this race has made more manifest to our minds than that whatever is to be apprehended from them, is to be feared from their being neglected, not from their being cared for; from having their natural and domestic affections outraged and blunted, not from their inteneration and protection; from their ignorance, not their intelligence.

Your memorialists would furthermore submit, that they will yield to none in love of the State, and reference for her history and noble sons. They know no better way to testify that love, than by asking these reforms; and they would be authorized by their writings and remains, in attaching to this petition the names of those who have in times past loved Virginia best, and given her renown over the world.

Their sympathies and interests being identified with their State, they unite in rejecting any foreign interference with this subject, by any Government, State or Federal. But above all, they would scorn the idea as unworthy, that another's folly should be our wisdom, and that anything said or agitated abroad should influence us to a base antagonism, which should leave our duty to this race unperformed.

Your memorialists rejoice to see indications in the South, that show how the sense is becoming felt of the great responsibility she has assumed in rejecting all interference from without with the temporal and spiritual well-being of this race. On us, and us only, fall the care and responsibility of their joys and griefs—their elevation or degradation. In Louisiana the laws prohibit the separation of parents and young children, and the same policy has been engaging legislative attention in Georgia and Alabama. In South Carolina, such modifications of the code on slavery, as we have called to your attention, have been advocated by many able writers and jurists—among whom we may mention Dr. Fuller, a large slaveholder and able minister, and Judge O'Neal. In Maryland, free colored persons have their own schools, and with the most encouraging results. In Louisiana, their schools are not only permitted, but assisted by money from public funds.

Shall Virginia be the last to feel this movement, and, showing her respect for the liberty of conscience which our fathers secured us, no longer risk the general respect for her policy by the inhumanity of a few laws and usages?

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Massachusetts to be turned out of the Union.—Mr. Shorter, one of the Southern slave-drivers in Congress, proposed in one of his recent speeches the formal exclusion of Massachusetts from the Union. Let him go ahead: he cannot better serve the honest men of that State, or the oppressed of his own, than by so doing. 'Let it slide.' Nobody will be hurt. Even the slaveholders themselves may thus be relieved from their curse and guilt. Here is an extract from his speech:

'I wish to save the country from the disgrace—and by the employment of that term, I mean nothing personally offensive to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Banks)—I desire to save this country from the disgrace of the election of a man to preside over this body, who occupies the position which has been assigned to that gentleman to day. Coming from the State of Massachusetts, as he does, and boasting upon this floor that he represents the strongest Anti-Slavery district in the United States, I say it would be an *insult* to my section of the country to elevate him to the Speakership of this House. I do not believe that the State of Massachusetts, which has nullified the Fugitive Slave Law, and with this trampled under foot the rights of my constituents—I say I do not believe, under the Constitution and the true theory of our government, that the State of Massachusetts to-day belongs to the Union. And I take this occasion to say farther, that when this House is organized, if it ever should be, I intend, if no one else does it, to introduce a resolution to the effect that no gentleman, sustaining the position of the gentleman from Massachusetts, and no representative from that State, *is entitled to hold a seat upon this floor.*'

Ohio Legislature—Jan. 19th.—Senate. This morning, a long memorial from the colored citizens of Ohio to the Legislature was read at the Clerk's desk. A discussion arose on the motion to print it, in which several Senators participated. It was lost by a vote of 12 to 17, when the memorial was referred to a select committee of three, Messrs. Canfield, Brown, and Taylor, of Geauga.

ANOTHER 'SOUTH SIDE VIEW.'

Hon. Robert Toombs, of Georgia, delivered a lecture on slavery at the Tremont Temple, Boston, on Thursday evening of last week. We make the following extracts from a report in the *Traveller*. After speaking of the constitutional status of slavery in this country, he passed to the consideration of its effect upon the slave race, and said:—

We found the negro a freeman in free States, a freeman in slaveholding States;—and in slavery itself he apprehended we found the best form of his condition. But according to the ideal which maintains the theory of equality of races and their capability of self-government, we ought to find the best specimens here in the non-slaveholding States. Surrounded by a temperate climate, by a great, active, intelligent, and educated population, kind and sympathizing friends,—surely, if he failed here, in this intellectual society, the fault must lie nowhere else than in himself. What was his condition? For 70 years he had the opportunity of cleaning himself from this leprosy of slavery,—how then did we find him to-day throughout these States? He was lord of himself, but was it not a heritage of woe? A large majority of the Free States of this Union excluded him from political rights. His history was lamentable, and was to be found in the records of our criminal courts and penitentiaries. But the population furnished another evidence of it. His increase here was barely one per cent., even with the addition of emancipated slaves and fugitives from labor.

If the theory were true of his equality, the policy of the majority of the Northern States, which drives him out and denies him social rights, did a wrong and injustice to that unfortunate race. A portion of these States drive him from their borders, and deny him even the privilege of entering them. We encouraged his immigration into our city and State, but he was expelled by many others, and driven, by some of those who denounced their brethren of the South, houseless, homeless wanderers and outcasts. Such were their professions—such their legislation. The South, acknowledging the same fact of their social inequality, but believing that subordination should exist; that it was natural, according to the fitness of things, they adopted it, sanctioned it, and put it under legal restraints. And under that system of subjugation and protection, great and valuable rights were given to this race. He did not pretend they were all they ought to be, but on the contrary, he said they were not. (Applause.)

He had said so at home, and now repeated it here. What were these rights? The slave was protected in his person, which he certainly was not in Africa. His life was protected to the full extent of his master's, and his power was placed under salutary restraints. He was entitled by law to home, to the necessaries of life, to protection in all conditions of himself and family. These conditions were freely accorded to him; and that he throve under them was proved by public records. The increase of the slave population in the ten years preceding 1850 was 28 per cent., or nearly three per cent. per annum—three times as great as the increase among the free colored people of the North. Then the returns of consumption showed that his maintenance was equal to that of any of the laboring population of Europe.

But these legal securities were far from including all of his privileges. The relation begat kindnesses, begat sympathies, begat privileges known to no other relation of capital and labor. Let that pass. His own opinions would have little weight, but he knew a distinguished clergyman of our own city who saw the institution in Georgia, for himself, and came to the conclusion which he (Mr. Toombs) laid down that night. (Hisses, and cries of 'shame.') Standing before his countrymen, he shunned no question, and wore no mask. He should be brief. [Here there was some confusion owing to a number of persons retiring.]

The lecturer said he should be brief. The system was far from perfect. Much remained to be done. Imperfection clings to man in all his institutions. But it was said that in this institution there were peculiar opportunities of abuse. It was a melancholy truth, it was said, that these opportunities were frequently made use of to inflict wrong and injury upon this race; but it was also true that the laws punished these departures of right in this relation as well as in any other; and they who held it to be a fundamental principle in the constitution of man that abuse is the unvarying concomitant of power, and crime of opportunity, subvert the foundation of all private morals and of all public government. The treatment of that race by the slaveholding States of the South, he said, was a proud vindication of themselves against the charge. (Applause and hisses.)

But they were often asked, how is it that if this be true, how can this institution at the same time promote the welfare of the bondmen, the interest of the master, and do no violence to humanity? The reason was obvious. The free colored man in the North, and indeed the free laborer everywhere, in the great conflict which he has with capital, was subject not only to his own follies and own vices, but to his ignorance and poverty. The consequence of this was that not being associated with capital, as the institution was at the South, he bought on most disadvantageous terms, was thrown upon the hands of extortioners, and his isolated condition multiplied his expenses without increasing his comforts. Where labor and capital were associated, he was sustained by the strength and power of the latter,—it gave the greatest possible production, and at the same time the greatest cheapness of production.

We should look at this question in reference to our future as well as the present. Under the conditions of labor in England or on the continent of Europe, it could not exist, nor, indeed, in any place the moment that labor gets to the point when it will barely maintain itself. Slavery in England found its exodus not in humanity, but in the necessities and interests of the land owners; and here in this country the unvarying laws of population must work the same result, whether it be advantageous to the African race or not. The natural increase of population must bring labor to the point where it can barely find maintenance, and then the institution may find its Euthanasia in the prostration of all labor.

What had been its effects upon the slaveholding States of the South? When we compared the productions of that with the other sections, we found that with six millions of freemen and 3 1-4 millions of slaves, it furnishes three-fifths and more of the export of the whole land. To see what the productions would be, under a system of free labor, we might look at the productions of Jamaica now, and at what they were under bondage twenty years ago, and look at that of Hayti seventy years ago. It was a mere material question. There they could compare the negro in the two conditions, and could compare him with himself, in a state of freedom and in the state of slavery. When he had thus shown that the productions of the Southern section were greater with society in its present than in any other condition, he had established the great principle with which he set out—that was, that under the institution, this race had its higher interests promoted more than in any other condition the race had ever gained in any age or country. This position could not be disputed.

They were sometimes told that this institution denied the laborer his wages. He had already shown how wages were paid; and one of our most distinguished citizens, the elder Adams (hisses),—he meant the first Adams, the President, known to the revolution as such,—not that he wished to make any remark about the other Adams they thought of,—they were two of the most able, distinguished and patriotic citizens America ever gave birth to,—but President Adams once spoke upon this very question of wages, and said:—'Whether you give wages in the necessaries of life or in money, the difference is imaginary.' But they were told that the effect of this institution, its moral or intellectual effect was to debase the Commonwealth, to degrade it—make it incapable of progress, moral or intellectual. That had not been the history of ancient nor was it the history of modern times. The oracles of the living God were given to the Jews, to the Hebrew race. His commands were given to a slaveholding priesthood. Prophets and patriarchs received them, taught them to their own, and transmitted them to all generations of mankind. We looked through ancient commonwealths. The highest forms of civilization, in arts, science, literature and eloquence, were found in connection with this institution.

The highest type of the human race was found in the ancient Greek, and to-day, with our boasted civilization, we find that Aristotle, and Homer, and Xenophon, and Thucydides are text books in all our seminaries of learning; and whether in arts, letters, painting, statuary or architecture, we must go and search amid the wreck and ruin of their greatness, for the pride of every model and the perfection of every master. Liberty and slavery were cradled together in ancient Rome. Her hardy sons, distinguished by their public and private virtue, by their personal prowess, carried their victorious eagles to the uttermost parts of the earth, overhung Greece, appropriated her civilization, studied her literature, and rivalled her glory in letters; and the languages of both Greece and Rome have survived and mingled themselves with the thought and speech of all centuries.

He was content that his own country should speak for itself. He was willing his countrymen should judge of fourteen feeble States, with less than a million and a half of population seventy years ago, thinly scattered along the Atlantic coast, surrounded by the most powerful tribes of Indians in North America—their homes desolated by the combined atrocities of Indians and British—coming out of the war, without wealth, without education, with nothing but their own strong arms and the fair domain their valor had wrenched from the iron grasp of the British tyrant. Let them view it to-day, the colonies, with republican governments, adequate to all purposes of liberty and private right, cheerfully obeyed by all classes of society, without one soldier throughout their whole dominions either to overawe or intimidate society, while other nations, while England keeps 100,000 men, a gigantic navy, and innumerable police, to secure obedience to her social system, while it is known that physical force is the sole cement of that gigantic empire and the secret of social order,—we could point to this country, with its millions of inhabitants, great, rich, prosperous, contented, and happy.

Such had been our institutions—such their effects upon society. He left them to them and to the judgment of the civilized world with a firm conviction that the adoption of no other system, under our circumstances, would exhibit the individual man, bond or free, in a higher development, or society in a happier civilization. (Applause.)

[At the close, persons in the audience called for cheers for various popular anti-slavery leaders, but they were only faintly given, and the audience broke up in a state of considerable excitement,—several gentlemen crowding round the lecturer to urge objections or offer their congratulations. Mr. Toombs, we believe, remarked that he had been highly satisfied with his audience.]

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 1, 1856.

TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY.

The twenty-third annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held at WILLIAMS HALL, in Boston, on Thursday and Friday, January 24th and 25th.

The meeting was called to order by the President, FRANCIS JACKSON, at 10½ o'clock.

The President stated that the Committee of Arrangements had prepared a list of Committees, &c., which, at their request, he would read to the Society, for their approval, amendment, or rejection:—

Committee on Business—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Maria Weston Chapman, J. B. Swasey, Charles C. Burleigh, Andrew T. Foss, Stephen S. Foster, Wm. Wells Brown, Abby Kelley Foster.

Assistant Secretaries—Samuel May, Jr., Boston, Joseph A. Howland, Worcester.

Committee on Finance—Lewis Ford, Charles B. McIntire, Elbridge Sprague, Briggs Arnold, Cornelius Wellington, Sallie Holley, Darius M. Allen.

Committee to Nominate Officers for the Ensuing Year—Edmund Quincy, Dedham; Charles L. Remond, Salem; William Ashby, Newburyport; Alvan Howes, Barnstable; Charles F. Hovey, Boston; John Bailey, Lynn; Alvan Ward, Ashburnham; Moses Smith, Holden; Henry W. Carter, Athol; Mehitabel Haskell, Gloucester; Ansel H. Harlow, Boston; Joseph Merrill, Danversport; Samuel Barrett, Concord.

The foregoing were unanimously accepted, and chosen officers of the annual meeting.

Opportunity for prayer, vocal or silent, was then given.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Treasurer of the Society, presented his Annual Report. It showed a total amount of receipts into the treasury, during the year, of $9,621 57. Disbursements, $9,252 30. Balance in treasury, 1st January, $369 27. The Report was accompanied by the certificate of the Auditor, EDMUND JACKSON, that the account is correct and properly vouched.

WENDELL PHILLIPS suggested a change in the manner of acknowledging the receipt of the money refunded by the Boston and Worcester Railroad, which was adopted by the Treasurer.

Voted, unanimously, That the Treasurer's Report be accepted and printed.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., the General Agent of the Society, read his Annual Statement of Operations during the year past.

MR. GARRISON, from the Committee on Business, reported the three following resolutions:—

1. Resolved, That as, in apostolic times, it was necessary that judgment should 'begin at the house of God'; so, the work of repentance for the sin of slavery must begin on our own soil, at our own doors, in our own breasts, and, until Massachusetts be a free State in principle and action, it is not for her to reproach or rebuke any Southern State for holding slaves, or for seeking to perpetuate her slave system.

2. Resolved, That to be opposed to slavery in the abstract, and at the same time to support it in practice, is to confess with the lips that worship is to be paid only to the living God, while bowing down to an idol; and is indicative of a very low moral condition.

3. Resolved, That if slavery be 'the sum of all villanies,' then its supporters and abettors are to be more boldly arraigned, and more severely condemned, than if they were giving their aid and countenance to any other wrong or outrage; and, instead of qualifying our impeachment or softening our reproof of slaveholders and their apologists, we are morally bound all the more to 'cry aloud, and spare not.'

STEPHEN S. FOSTER took the platform, and remarked upon the general state of the cause and of our movement in particular. He stated his belief, based on his own experience and observation, that our numbers had diminished, and we were weaker in strength than ten years ago; and assigned as a reason, that although people were in the main convinced of the truth of our principles, yet they deemed them impracticable. The people must vote; they are unwilling to adopt practically a principle that forbids their voting. We have called on the people to leave their pro-slavery churches and pro-slavery parties, but have provided no church for them to go into, no political organization for them to act with; and those whom we had heretofore converted had returned to political action again, and in some cases, to fellowship their old religious associations again.

To meet this difficulty, Mr. Foster proposed the organization of disunion churches and a disunion political party, in which to take up the sympathies of the people, already tending in the right direction, and turn them to practical account. The people will vote, they must vote; then we must provide ways for them to vote without sacrifice of principle, and thereby make their action as effective as possible. And although he, as a non-resistant, could not become a voter, yet he could direct others how to act in harmony with their own principles, and yet directly to the benefit of the anti-slavery cause.

MR. GARRISON followed, in review of Mr. Foster's positions, that our distinctive movement was making no progress. He thought that our cause never stood better than to-day; that it progressed regularly and rapidly, and he could not but be hopeful, especially in view of the fact, that for two months the proud waves of the Slave Power had beat in vain upon the *Banks* of Massachusetts. We have at last an opportunity of beholding a temporary bar put in the way of the triumphant march of the Slave Power. This indicates progress, and gives ground for hope and encouragement. And then, as to our disunion platform, when we first broached the principle, it was almost treason to speak of it—the idea would on no account be tolerated; but now it is every where discussed, and that, too, with safety and consideration. Our work is, to convert and change the public sentiment, and that, too, not so much by making individual converts, as by educating and bringing up the public, step by step. Our business is to influence and direct, rather than to organize churches or political parties. And with this view, he thought we were doing much, very much. Every thing indicates progress and encourages hope.

S. S. FOSTER again took the floor, in a more full exposition of what he deemed the necessary work for abolitionists now to be engaged in.

RICHARD CLAP of Dorchester hoped that due credit would be given to the Free Soil or Republican party, while for himself he expressed his full faith in, and adherence to, the great principle of 'No Union with Slaveholders.'

Various notices were given, and the Society adjourned to quarter to 3 o'clock.

AFTERNOON.—The President in the Chair.

MR. GARRISON, from the Committee on Business, reported the following additional resolutions:

4. Resolved, That the statements commonly made by the clergy, (to excuse the slaveholding of the South, or their own inaction in regard to it, or both,) that 'slavery is a great Providential arrangement'—that 'the hand of God is in it'—that 'God, in his providence, sent the Africans to this country that they might receive the light of the Gospel,' &c. &c., are not only entirely unavailing as a defence, either of themselves or others, but are really more irreverent to God than that thoughtless cursing and swearing of vulgar persons which they invariably and justly reprove.

5. Resolved, That there can be no greater delusion than the belief that *the Gospel* is preached at the South, either to slaves or slaveholders.

6. Resolved, That one lesson which we may appropriately draw from the long continuance of slavery is to mark the corruption of that Church which, North as well as South, is its chief bulwark; and to notice whether the perversions of reason, fact and Scripture which the clergy use in its support, be not also used to mislead their readers in their professional capacity.

7. Resolved, That the prominent indications of sympathy and good fellowship which have been bestowed upon the Rev. Nehemiah Adams by the representatives of the popular religion since the publication of his 'South-Side View of Slavery, namely—

His being chosen on the Examining Committee of the American Tract Society—and to preach the annual Sermon before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions—and to preside, on anniversary week, at the opening of the Union prayer-meeting in Winter Street Church—and to preach the sermon at an installation in Providence, R. I.—and to dedicate, by prayer, the new rooms of the Mercantile Library Association in Boston—

show the corrupt state of that popular religion, and the urgent necessity of teaching, instead of it pure and genuine Christianity.

REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE addressed the meeting in a speech of great point and eloquence. He contrasted the ease of anti-slavery profession at the North with the difficulty of sustaining anti-slavery principles at the South. The lack of real, abiding, conscientious principle, even among Massachusetts men, who, though loud-mouthed abolitionists here, were too often the strongest slaveholders when their business called them South, was pointed out.

He defended the Personal Liberty Bill of our last Legislature, and showed that those who denounced that as treason were themselves the real traitors.

In showing the thankless task of reformers, he illustrated his remarks by the story of some Englishmen who found an emaciated Hindoo left to die on the banks of the sacred Ganges, whom they revived and brought to life only to receive his daily curses for restoring him to life, and keeping him out of his Hindoo heaven.

He said we often heard of idolatry, of people who worshipped wood and stone. People here condemn that, while they worship and idolize other things, the Constitution and Union, as though no other could be formed so good. People here worship men. In all the shop windows, all the banks and insurance offices, glares at you, with heavy brow, sunken cheek, and gloomy expression, the image of Daniel Webster, the idol worshipped in Boston. Mr. C. closed with an appeal to all to stand fast, although few or almost alone. God was with the right.

MR. GARRISON said that this was the meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society; that *our* work was in Massachusetts, and was two-fold, religious and political,—to make men consistent and honest in all their relations. Now, people violate their own principles to sustain their church and party.

Our work is personal, because slavery incarnates itself in persons, and we must deal with the system in its manifestation through the individual. We rebuked Daniel Webster through his life, and it was wise and philosophical to do so. And now it may be our duty to devote our energies to making Boston too hot to hold Nehemiah Adams, to break down Essex Street Church. Our work is with the church members of Massachusetts. All churches which have a discipline and hold their members to a professed Christian standard, and are still pro-slavery, should be forsaken by all true abolitionists. This point Mr. Garrison enforced at length by illustrations, drawn from the practice of the churches in their discipline.

He then showed the inconsistency of professed abolitionists taking the oath to the Constitution of the United States, which pledges them to the protection and defence of slavery. This point was elucidated and illustrated with great clearness and force; and the absurdity of those who profess a belief in the anti-slavery character of the Constitution acting in harmony with a pro-slavery government was also very distinctly shown. And then the jesuitism of those who, professing disunion principles, are seduced by some side issue to cast their votes for that special object, was held up to view.

Mr. Garrison, in reply to S. S. Foster, gave his theory of the duty of abolitionists as to the manner of bringing Massachusetts out of its governmental connection with slavery.

S. S. FOSTER then followed at length in review of Mr. Garrison, and in favor of a new political organization.

J. B. INNIS replied to Mr. Foster in defence of the Free Soil party and its platform.

The Society adopted the following resolution:—

Resolved, That in order to defray the expenses of this Annual Meeting, the members of the Society and friends of the cause present be requested to contribute each the sum of one dollar, or such other sum, whether more or less, as they may be able, to the Finance Committee.

The Finance Committee proceeded to the discharge of their duty, in accordance with the Resolution.

MR. FOSTER asked Mr. Garrison *how* he would proceed in the work of getting out of this Union;—what steps should be taken in the matter.

MR. GARRISON replied, cease to support the Union and the Government, cease to vote under it, cease to swear allegiance to it, and do all you can to excite for it the moral abhorrence it deserves. Then, when the popular mind is ready, they will summon a Convention to form a new government. And when it meets, said Mr. G., I hope to be there, and do all I can to form a new and a good government; and if they put *sin* into it, then I will be off, and call again for disunion.

MR. FOSTER enlarged upon the necessity of laying before the people some definite method of action. He repudiated as worthless all present methods. He regarded the Republican party, and all their members, Charles Sumner included, as in league with the slaveholders against the slaves, pledged by the Constitution to keep the compromises with slavery.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH replied to Mr. Foster. He objected to Mr. Foster's position that the Republican party was the greatest hindrance to the overthrow of slavery. He also dissented from Mr. Foster's position that slavery is weakened by its acquisition of new territory, and its spreading its victims over a wider surface.

Adjourned to 7 o'clock.

EVENING. Edmund Quincy, a Vice President, in the chair.

A quartette club of young volunteers sang the 'Rock of Liberty.'

J. B. SWASEY, Esq., of Newburyport, opened the discussion of the evening session by saying that he too had felt the discouragement expressed by Mr. Foster, while he looked only to direct results; but as he had faith in God, in the success and triumph of truth and great principles, he could but believe that the old Saxon spirit, the spirit of the Puritans, would in the result triumph successfully over the dark power of slavery in this land.

He then went on to review Mr. Foster's positions in reference to political action, illustrating, in part, by reference to Jesus Christ, who, he said, never attempted to make a platform, or organization, or even a plan, but addressed himself to, and sought to instruct and elevate, the individual conscience.

He illustrated the progress of the cause by his own experience. A few months ago, he was entirely at variance with this platform; but being called, in order to qualify himself for the office of Justice of the Peace, to take an oath to support the Constitution of Massachusetts and the United States, he set himself about a careful study of those documents, and soon came to the conclusion that, as an honest man and true friend of freedom, he could do no such thing.

WENDELL PHILLIPS was greeted, as he came to the platform, by the cheers of the audience. He said that many of Mr. Foster's positions were right, but his feeling of hopelessness because no more converts were made was a short-sighted one. Our duty was not to make disunionists, neither was our success to be estimated by the numbers of our men; but we were to be the leaven that should leaven the whole lump.

As to a disunion party, he felt with Mr. Foster that that was to be the course, but the time was not yet. We have not sufficient material of which to construct such a party, and it would be a waste of our strength to stop now to organize a party in order to be counted. Our party is yet too small to be counted, and should we try, some side issue would draw them off, so that we could not count them at all.

But we were making advances, for Mr. Banks, though not an Abolitionist, is to-day the block that stops the wheels of government, so that even Caleb Cushing, with his hands full of money and his heart full of lies, could not buy up his necessary ten men, that he has heretofore boasted he could always buy. It is an indication of progress that Charles Sumner, a young democratic lawyer, with no party friends or great fame, now fills the seat of Daniel Webster; and that the seat of Edward Everett, the pet scholar of Boston, is now filled by the 'Natick Cobbler,'—one who has earned his seat there by nobler services than nine-tenths of those who sit about him. That is progress.

Another objection to a political organization is, that it must be too broad. He should want to put in an elective judiciary, &c., and there would be too many elements to put into the crucible to make a distinct political issue upon.

Mr. Phillips continued, in one of his happiest efforts, in a strain of great beauty and eloquence, that could be equalled only by himself, and to which no mere sketch could do justice; closing with the remark that the disunion party would, as a result, a necessity, crest up on the rising wave of time.

The Quartette Club sang 'Eight Dollars a Day.'

MR. GARRISON said that he knew of nothing by which to test anti-slavery but the slave, and he started in that cause resolved to know nothing but the slave. He did not then expect to leave his political party, his religious denomination, or the government; but he was bound to stand by the slave, and let everything that stood in the way, that was pro-slavery, go by the board. Our position must necessarily be an isolated one. We could not attract noisy, excited, spasmodic meetings, as the politicians do, but we must keep straight forward, unswerving, and our work is always before us. If we would concede something to the Church, for instance, that slaveholding can, under some circumstances, be right, or that a slaveholder can possibly be a Christian, or make any other concession, however small, we should have our character given back to us, and should afterwards stand well with the public. But no, we must make no concession, but stand on our own ground, if we stand alone.

He was sorry to differ with any friends of the cause—was glad to think as well as he could of the Republicans, but must, nevertheless, criticise them. Their Personal Liberty Bill, in this State, acknowledges the right of the slaveholder to reclaim his human 'property,' but he must prove his claim to a jury. He objected to them on their own single paltry issue of Free Soil; they treated the question of freedom in the Territories in the same manner as they did the question of banking, or any thing else, meaning to carry their point by vote, or, if overcome, to submit. And if they should keep Kansas out, because of a slave Constitution, the people of the Territory could try a free Constitution, and then, being voted in, they could alter it to a slave Constitution, for the Republicans acknowledge the right of a sovereign State to settle the question of freedom or slavery for itself. Their opposition to slavery is technical, and not real.

Mr. Garrison then went on to criticise the various other positions and avowals of the Republicans and their advocates; summing up with objecting to their love of the Union, which he feared would induce them to let the slave slide, to save the Union. He then discussed the disunion question in his own able and masterly manner. A running discussion ensued on Free Soil positions, &c., which continued half an hour, and was closed by S. S. Foster.

The Quartette Club sang a song, and the Society adjourned to Friday morning, 10 o'clock.

FRIDAY.

The Society reassembled at Williams Hall, the President, FRANCIS JACKSON, in the chair.

The resolutions before the Society were read by the Secretary.

Mr. Garrison read a paragraph from a Mobile (Alabama) paper, showing the alarm with which the advance of anti-slavery at the North strikes Southern minds.

ANDREW T. FOSS said that he agreed with Mr. Foster and Mr. Phillips, that we should at this meeting discuss practical measures, rather than fundamental principles. He did not quite agree with Mr. Foster, that our principles had been accepted by the community; he felt that our principles had but little practical effect upon community. The church and the government deny that slavery is a crime, and the people act accordingly. They need our true principles preached continually; they have not yet received the full benefit and influence of them. Mr. Foss very strikingly illustrated these positions.

Mr. Foss accounted for the smallness of our numbers, and the apparent want of interest in our cause, and commented on Mr. Foster's proposed remedies with a humorous sarcasm that kept the audience in a pleasant mood, while the success of the criticism seemed to carry conviction to all.

S. S. FOSTER took the platform in further exposition of his proposition, and in condemnation of the Free Soil party and of the countenance and support which our platform gives to that party, in acknowledging that it is doing an anti-slavery work of any kind, and that its success is an indication of anti-slavery progress. At the request of Mr. Garrison, he gave more in detail his views of the organization of a new political party. He closed by saying, that he felt with Mr. Phillips, that our work was the elevation of the public sentiment, the education of the people. There all our strength lies, and all our work.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH said he thought that Mr. Foster misapprehended the position of the Free Soil party, and also our relation to that party. Friend Foster's positions would necessarily carry the idea that the *slaveholding power* was the greatest *anti-slavery* instrumentality in the country, which he could not believe or admit. Mr. Burleigh then went on, with his unrivalled power of reasoning, to review Mr. Foster's argument, and to exhibit his own views of the theory, philosophy and efficacy of our movement.

J. B. SWASEY briefly reviewed Mr. Foster's positions, saying that he thought there was some truth in what Mr. F. had said, but he felt that it was exaggerated by him. He especially thought that Mr. F. had stated much too strongly the readiness of people to join the new party he proposes. The men to join such a party, Mr. Swasey thought, do not exist. In regard to numbers, we should be just where we now are; the new party would be made up of the old Disunionists, and no others.

Adjourned at 1 o'clock, to meet at 2½.

AFTERNOON. FRANCIS JACKSON in the chair.

MR. FOWLER, of Cambridge, opened the discussions of the afternoon session with a speech in which he showed that all reforms were progressive, and should never expect to lay a permanent platform or an abiding Constitution; for the very next step onward led off and away from it. The Constitution of yesterday would become too narrow for to-day. He went on to show therefrom that the church constitution and the political constitution, framed in the past, must of necessity be too pro-slavery and narrow for to-day. He adverted to his own experience. He had been silenced as a preacher, because he desired to be true to God and humanity, rather than faithful to the creed or constitution of the church; while his classmates, who declared that they would preach the creed because it would pay, were allowed to remain in good standing.

MR. GARRISON, from the Committee on Business, reported the following resolutions:—

8. Resolved, That if the Legislature of Massachusetts, at its present session, shall repeal or essentially modify the Personal Liberty Bill, (except to make it unlawful to seize any man as a slave on our soil,) at the insolent dictation of the Slave Power, or the more intolerable selfishness and cowardice of Gov. Gardner, it will be act of such abject abasement and treachery to the cause of freedom as shall consign to lasting infamy every Senator and every Representative voting for it.

9. Resolved, nevertheless, that to put any man on trial before any commissioner or jury, in this Commonwealth, or any where on the earth, to determine the issue whether he is the property of another man, is an enormity to be scouted in every community, whether civilized or savage; that, in so far as such a trial is recognised and provided for by the Personal Liberty Bill of Massachusetts, that Bill (however it may conflict with the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850) is deplorably defective; and, therefore, as Massachusetts can go no further under the present national compact, and in order to put a perpetual end to slave-catching on her soil, she is morally bound, by the highest considerations of justice and humanity, to secede from the Union, in which she cannot protect the fugitive slave, except by perfidy or rebellion.

10. Resolved, That we welcome this annual occasion once more unitedly to express, what individually we ever so warmly cherish, our deep and grateful sense of obligation to the friends of our cause in every city and town in the British Empire from whence their sympathy and aid have so constantly been extended to us: and among their numerous ranks, it befits this occasion especially to name our honored friends, the Webbs, the Allens and the Haughtons, of Dublin; the Patons and the Nichols of Glasgow; with all who so essentially aided our earlier struggle by the voice of George Thompson;—the Wighams of Edinburgh, the Armisteads and Luptons of Leeds; the name of Estlin, with the Armstrongs, the Tribes and the Carpenters of Bristol; the Steinthals, the Chapmans, and the Michels of the West of England; the Sturges, the Reids, and the Massies of London. And whether this aid, for which we so cordially thank them, has reached us in the form of testimony against slavery, generous friendship and hospitality towards ourselves and our representatives as the advocates of freedom, or pecuniary help in carrying on our cause, we desire most emphatically to assure them of its great efficacy in regenerating public opinion, (the spring of all action in the United States,) and in furnishing our own hearts with the strongest additional motive never to be found wanting to the sacred duty in which we are so nobly seconded.

11. Resolved, That, since the briefest historical retrospect of the last quarter of a century would be imperfect without an expression of feeling, in view of one great and holy life which the world has there seen so unreservedly and strenuously devoted to the welfare of mankind; and since that whole noble life, now approaching the term that gives freedom to speak the whole truth concerning it, has a peculiar claim on *our* hearts, we feel privileged by our cause to express to HARRIET MARTINEAU, while yet there is time, our deep, affectionate and reverential gratitude for the benefit of her labors, the honor of her friendship, and the sublime joy of her example.

REV. C. E. HODGES, of Watertown, said that, in his search for truth, he had felt the utter lack of trust in truth that pervaded the whole community. He had looked among politicians in vain,—there was no truth among them; to the Church,—there was no faith there; and in the whole community, there were but few who had any faith or trust in truth. In the anti-slavery movement, he had found more faith in truth and righteousness than any where else—more real faith and hope; and here he had found that steadfastness of purpose and principle that he found no where else. It was, therefore, with sorrow and discouragement that he had heard the remarks made by Mr. Foster of a desponding character. This, he thought, indicated an undue impatience. We must wait patiently, and with trust and hope.

MR. GARRISON then read from the *Daily Journal* a notice of our yesterday's meeting, and commented on the readiness of that paper to report any discouraging or desponding remark, while it omitted to report those remarks of all the other speakers, which were filled with the spirit of hope and joy at our clear and undeniable progress.

He then proceeded to speak of the various stages of progress through which every truth-loving mind must needs go. We may be in a false position to-day, honestly and sincerely, and be entirely praiseworthy for our sincerity and truthfulness. But our next step onward would put us in a truer and better position,—and so on. Let us, therefore, give honor to those who are truthfully, honestly seeking truth and right, even though they may not be in a true and right position.

Mr. G. then went on to show at length the impropriety and evil of political organization and action on our part.

J. B. INNIS, of Salem, made a few remarks in defence of the anti-slavery character of the United States Constitution.

EDMUND QUINCY, in behalf of the Nominating Committee, reported a list of officers of the Society for the ensuing year:—

President—FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

Vice Presidents—Andrew Robeson, New Bedford; Edmund Quincy, Dedham; Adin Ballou, Milford; Joshua T. Everett, Princeton; Effingham L. Capron, Worcester; Jefferson Church, Springfield; Oliver Gardner, Nantucket; Henry I. Bowditch, Boston; Josiah Henshaw, West Brookfield; Caroline Weston, Weymouth; Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fitchburg; George Miles, Westminster; James N. Buffum, Lynn; Cyrus Pierce, Newton; John T. Hilton, Brighton; Thomas T. Stone, Bolton; Bourne Spooner, Plymouth; William Ashby, Newburyport; John Bailey, Lynn; James Russell Lowell, Cambridge; Richard Clap, Dorchester; William Whiting, Concord; Ezekiel Thatcher, Barnstable; David P. Harmon, Haverhill; Charles Lenox Remond, Salem; John Clement, Townsend; Atkinson Stanwood, Newburyport; Lewis Ford, Abington.

Corresponding Secretary—Samuel May, Jr., Leicester.

Recording Secretary—Robert F. Wallcut, Boston.

Treasurer—Samuel Philbrick, Brookline.

Auditor—Edmund Jackson, Boston.

Counsellors—William L. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Maria W. Chapman, John Rogers, Eliza Lee Follen, Anne W. Weston, Edmund Quincy, Charles K. Whipple, William I. Bowditch, John T. Sargent, Charles F. Hovey, Charles E. Hodges.

The report of the Committee was unanimously accepted, and the persons therein named duly elected officers for the current year.

Mr. Quincy, in making his Report, also read the following letter:—

NEW YORK, Jan. 18, 1856.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Esq.,

President of the Mass. A. S. Society, Boston:

DEAR SIR—Having taken up my residence in this city, it becomes my duty to resign my office as one of the 'Board of Managers' of your Society. Thanking the friends for the honor so long conferred upon me, offering you and our associates my best wishes for the success of our common cause, and assuring you and them of my hearty coöperation in all just measures to bring slavery to a perpetual end,

I am, my dear Sir, ever

Yours faithfully, C. BRAMHALL.

Voted, That the thanks of this Society be given to Cornelius Bramhall, Esq., for his long and faithful services as an officer of this Society.

Voted, That the Corresponding Secretary communicate the vote of thanks to Mr. Bramhall.

Adjourned to 7 o'clock.

EVENING. EDMUND QUINCY in the chair.

The Quartette Club again sang the 'Rock of Freedom.'

The Society was then addressed by J. B. SWASEY, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, and Miss FRANCES E. WATKINS, a young colored woman of Baltimore, free born, yet a sufferer from the cruel prejudices of ignorant and narrow-minded white persons, addressed the meeting in a simple but touching manner. Her brief remarks were very warmly applauded.

MR. GARRISON reported the following resolutions:—

12. Resolved, That this Society would take the opportunity of its annual meeting to record its tribute of sincere respect for the memory of the late JOHN BISHOP ESTLIN, whose death at Bristol, England, in June last, has deprived the anti-slavery cause, the world over, of the presence of a most intelligent and generous friend, whose counsels were full of wisdom, whose labors were constant and untiring, and whose heart always warmed to the great principles of freedom and humanity which this Society maintains. Grateful for his friendship, his fellowship, and invaluable aid, deeply respecting his lofty and disinterested character, and with sincere sympathy for her, who, of his family, alone survives him, and who so largely shares his spirit, we shall cherish his memory as one of the rich treasures which the cause of freedom has bestowed upon us.

13. Resolved, That in the recent demise of our venerated friend and unswerving coadjutor, WILLIAM H. ASHURST, Esq., of London, the cause of emancipation in America, and the cause of liberty throughout the world, have met with a great bereavement; for his hospitable home was ever open alike to the advocates of the American slave and the noble refugees from the despotism of Europe; and with his pen and purse, he was never weary in giving his brave testimony and his efficient aid to every movement on British soil for the freedom and elevation of the suffering classes, and to every struggle in other lands to liberate the victims of an overshadowing despotism.

14. Resolved, That we again give the right hand of brotherly regard to our clear-sighted and fearless friend and fellow-worker, PARKER PILLSBURY, now in England; that we rejoice in his labors and in his success, in the many friendships he has made for our cause and not less for himself, and in the faithful testimonies he has borne against every kind of pro-slavery, and against the lukewarmness and apathy of many of the professed friends of the slave. Fully convinced of the radical and thorough work he has done in Great Britain in behalf of genuine anti-slavery, we heartily bid him God-speed; and whenever improved health shall warrant his return to our shores, we pledge him our heartiest welcome.

15. Resolved, That a Constitution which provides for a slave representation and a slave oligarchy in Congress—which legalizes slave-hunting and slave-catching on every inch of American soil—and which pledges the military and naval power of the country to keep four millions of chattel slaves in their chains—is to be trodden under foot, and pronounced accursed, however unexceptionable or valuable may be its provisions.

16. Resolved, That the one great issue before the country is, THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION—in comparison with which all other issues with the Slave Power are as dust in the balance; therefore, we will give ourselves to the work of annulling this 'covenant with death,' as essential to our own innocency, and the speedy and everlasting overthrow of the slave system.

17. Resolved, That in the invitation extended, by a professedly anti-slavery committee, to that brazen and shameless advocate of man-stealing, Senator ROBERT TOOMBS, of Georgia, to come to Boston to defend the nefarious practices of the South, after his insulting boast that he would yet marshal his slaves around the base of Bunker Hill monument, and defy Massachusetts to liberate one of them; and in his reputable appearance last evening, in the Tremont Temple, boldly to do his worst against the sacred rights of man, and to defend 'the sum of all villanies,' the world is presented with the climax of effrontery, on the one hand, and of gratuitous folly on the other; and it clearly indicates how low is the moral condition of the metropolis of the Commonwealth respecting the most revolting system of oppression known in the annals of time.

WENDELL PHILLIPS then addressed the meeting.

[N. B. As a full report of this speech, and others made this evening, was taken in short-hand, and will appear elsewhere, no further sketch is here attempted.]

The resolutions before the Society were unanimously adopted.

The following resolution, offered by Wendell Phillips, from the Business Committee, was also unanimously adopted:—

18. Resolved, That this Society rejoices in the abolition of the separate colored schools in the city of Boston, as the triumph of law and justice over the pride of caste and wealth; and recognizes in it the marked advance of the anti-slavery sentiment of the State.

☞ The amount received by the Finance Committee at this annual meeting, with that taken at the door for entrance at evening meetings, was $880 00. Amount pledged and payable during the year, $867 75.

Adjourned, *sine die*.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President*.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, } *Secretaries of the Meeting*.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS

AT THE

Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, Friday Evening, Jan. 25, 1856.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I entirely accord with the sentiment of that last resolution [the 16th]. I think all we have to do is to prepare the public mind, by the daily and hourly presentation of the doctrine of Disunion; events, which, fortunately for us, the Government itself, and other parties, are producing with unexampled rapidity, are our best aid. I agree entirely with the remarks of Mr. FOSTER, which he made from his seat to-night. The most mischievous thing in the world is a good man in a false position; the better he is, the more dangerous he is. The whole difficulty with men who call themselves anti-slavery, in this community, is, they are not willing to sacrifice any thing for their anti-slavery. The great mission of the Abolitionist is, to go about and ask his fellow-citizens, not whether they are anti-slavery—for there is hardly any body indecent enough to confess he is pro-slavery—but what they will sacrifice for their anti-slavery. I do not care how broadly or emphatically a man vents his hatred of slavery—the only man of any use is one who has a clear sight, and adds to that a willingness to sacrifice something for what he sees. The difficulty with the community is, they are not willing to sacrifice any thing for their anti-slavery professions. There is anti-slavery enough in Massachusetts, judged by its *words*. Men trust too much to the present political excitement. We had as much in 1819 and '20. At the time of the Missouri Compromise, things were even better than now. We do not carry Congress by making the great men of the old parties our vassals. We have carried it by crowding out the Everetts and the Winthrops, and putting in young men, politically speaking. In 1819, Otis was the mouth-piece of the Anti-Slavery party of Massachusetts,—himself the idol of the Whig party, which owned the State. Massachusetts was not 'a house divided against itself,'—it was a Commonwealth speaking by the lips of its own idolized son. Nothing came of it. Why not? Because, behind all that, there was no firm, religious, radical principle, that understood itself. If there had been, the Missouri Compromise would not be a lump of gold on a barren soil,—a single noble struggle, with no root to it, and no fruit. Look at the record of that day! The speeches and pamphlets are as full, as bold, as decided, as to-day. One of the Representatives from a Northern State, on that occasion, after finishing his speech, was addressed by a gentleman from one of the Southern States, who said to him—'Why, sir, if your principles were carried out, every slave would cut his master's throat.' And the Northerner, who had just taken his seat, turned his lazy head over his shoulder, and said—'Why, in God's name, should they not?' And that is as bold a speech as we have had in Congress this year. He did not even condescend to stand up and take any notice of so idle a threat; he merely threw the remark over his shoulder.

It seems to me that what the Missouri struggle wanted was, meetings just like ours,—with no roof to them. That is the way in which I should describe a regular anti-slavery meeting. The political meeting is roofed in by the hopes of WILSON and the dangers of SUMNER. The religious meeting is roofed in by the credulity of ADAMS and the 'sleepless pillow' of WINSLOW. But we have got a roofless meeting, where there is no Union to save, and where you may denounce the State, and the Church itself, if you choose. That is a great gain. When the men who organize to overthrow slavery say—'This is so vital and important a question, that we may call up every thing in the country, sacred or profane, and take it all to task, and sacrifice it all, if necessary, to get rid of this evil'—then they understand the depth and power of slavery. When a man says he is an anti-slavery man, I want to ask him what he knows of slavery. Do you know its character, its influence, the value of the rights it places in jeopardy? If so, then you know that the Union itself, Church organizations, Sunday schools, Tract Societies, Bible Societies, are but dust in the balance compared with the benefit of getting rid of it. That is the argument which the Anti-Slavery Societies present to the people, and that is the background of sentiment and intellectual conviction which alone can make the present political struggle worth any thing.

The fault I find with the Free Soil leaders is not what they are doing,—they are doing, I suppose, all they see to be possible. The injury they do is this,—that in the course of doing this second-rate work, they are placing at hazard that radical anti-slavery sentiment which is necessary to save them when they fail, as they will fail, in their political efforts. When Kansas is admitted, Cuba annexed, the Fugitive Slave Law confirmed,—when Caleb Cushing, with his hands full of money and his heart full of lies, has purchased those ten men he boasts were never wanting to carry an Administration measure,—when all this is done, and all the good efforts of gallant and honest men in Congress have proved to be in vain, what is beyond? They have prepared nothing. They come down to the people and say—'We have got this account to render: we have done nothing; we are defeated.' What is the popular sentiment they have prepared? Where is the public opinion awaiting them when they come home, and ready to say—'Gentlemen, now we have done the best we could inside the Constitution, let us go outside of it'? It seems to me that is the public sentiment they ought to have prepared, or at least countenanced and aided us in preparing. At our very last meeting, we saw one of the most fatal and melancholy instances of the potency of the Slave Power. It was JOHN PIERPONT,—a man, his brow of sixty years scarred in many a gallant fight, his name the loved watchword of many a noble battle-field, his character, not won in one, nor ten, but in many contests for Justice, Freedom, Temperance,—we saw even him, tempted beyond his strength by that public opinion, through which the Slave Power makes anti-slavery sentiment, radically uttered, starvation, martyrdom. You see it every where you go. I take his name, because the strongest. I could take LONGFELLOW, his wide-spread pinions, borne aloft on a world's applause, gathering fame from foreign and Indian song, able to look down upon the prejudices of America, floating in the clear blue of the poet,—yet he has trailed his wings in the dust, consenting to strike out every anti-slavery sentiment from the costliest edition of his poems! But LONGFELLOW,—he is a boy, a trifle, a straw, compared with the gray-crowned head of PIERPONT, brought down to the dust before Slavery.

When you go through literary and political ranks, and find slavery gaining such trophies, what do you make of it?

[A VOICE—'What did PIERPONT do?']

MR. PHILLIPS.—He published an edition of his First Class Book, the idol of many a school-boy, the corner-stone of his fame, which, rightly viewed, had run its course and slept in blessings, and left out every anti-slavery hint and line; yes, and dated the preface, when the heart of New England was eating itself with indignation, the day or the day after Anthony Burns walked down State street! And then, on this platform, within twelve months, defended the act!

I say, that any man, who is thoroughly penetrated with the conviction of the importance of such a fact as this, knows that slavery is so potent and important and vital, so deeply spread and securely anchored, that you must have something stronger than politics to grapple with it. And while I would not put a straw in the path of those men who are doing their duty in Congress, the fault I find with them is, they have prepared nothing as a refuge, after efforts which all men see must fail. If they had said to religious and political societies,—'Go on! put down this love of the Union forever; make the people say there is something better than the Constitution,—yes, the liberty and justice which it was made to secure,—while we go out and try to do what we can, within the circle and fetter of the Constitution,'—I should have been content.

Correct perspective, clear-sighted appreciation of the relative value of things, is what we lack. Many a man pulls down with one hand as much as he builds with the other. Weigh WARD BEECHER, with his pulpit, his eloquence, his influence, his name, ready to crowd the largest walls with applauding thousands, of all sects and parties, to welcome him to the banks of the Mississippi or the Penobscot, against his countenance, in the *Independent*, of calumnious attacks upon one who has done more than himself to save the slave in the Carolinas—PARKER PILLSBURY. (Cheers.) I would give the Beechers, one and all, the most unmixed praise for all they have done and are doing, if they would only set up the scales, and tell the world, in unmistakable tones, which weighs the most, in their opinion, the American Church, or the rights of the slave. While that word remains unspoken, I tremble even at every noble deed they do for the slave, remembering that coward and venal priests will lay it as an opiate on the conscience of a Christless church. Yes; that is the great balance which the Anti-Slavery Society, as in Milton's story, holds up always before the eye of the nation. Unions, churches, parties, legislatures, kick the beam before the God-given rights of the American slave in the other scale. Whoever does one single act which even seems to uphold the American Union, without flaring this other testimony ever in the face of all men, is an enemy to the slave, and it is our duty to criticise him.

STEPHEN FOSTER can do a better duty than organize a political party; it is, to stand like Mordecai in the gates of CHARLES SUMNER'S Senatorship, and say—'Do not trust him! That his heart is true, only trebles the mischief of his position.' That is a hard word to say; but next December, he will owe *us* thanks if he is saved in the Senatorial chair, and not tricked out of it by this Jesuit Governor, who means to make himself Senator in the place of Sumner; and nothing but an anti-slavery sentiment that will trample Know Nothing lodges indignantly under its feet, radical as we can make it, will save even CHARLES SUMNER. If there is any man here who loves the Free Soil party, let him welcome such meetings as these. The game I have indicated is the one which is to be played, and the Republican party cannot fight that battle with any mere political organization; they cannot meet those secret lodges, break that banded and marshalled host arrayed against them. Every man, off the pavement of Boston, believes Gov. Gardner. You may think it impossible, but I assure you it is so. They do believe that he tells the truth! You who stay at home, do not esteem this a traveller's lie. Off the pavement, he is believed; and, unless something more radical than any anti-slavery which the present Republican organization preaches be taught, unless the necessity of putting men of truth and honor on that floor, in order that the experiment be tried out under the best auspices, be put frankly and fairly before the people, and with it, that other conclusion, that when it has been tried, under such auspices, with such fidelity, and failed, there is no remedy except dissolution—unless that sentiment be created, you will not have your Senator to boast of.

The world takes a long time to move. We shall all go to our graves, perhaps, before Massachusetts swings out of the Union. We cannot expect so great and radical a change, even in a generation. We have done a great deal. Why, Boston's pet iniquity, the Colored School, we have beaten to pieces. (Applause.) The Whig party left it a legacy to the wealth of Boston. I did not expect to live to see the day when the pride and wealth of Boston would yield the Colored School; but the love of equality and justice, the humane sentiments of Massachusetts, have prevailed. It is a great gain. And second to that is the public sentiment of the country counties, which is ready to throw off their vassalage to the city.

Mr. Foster thought Mr. Banks might be hypocritical in his declaration, that, under certain circumstances, he would 'let the Union slide.' Perhaps he is so; but the hypocrite is usually a sagacious man; and when a sagacious worldling finds it his interest to put on the guise of the Abolitionist, that is proof of progress, is it not? It is proof of a great change when a young, aspiring man like Banks, puts on the cowl of anti-slavery, and stands before twenty millions of people, declaring that, under any conceivable circumstances, he will 'let the Union slide.' What political aspirant, with office waiting, as he thought, on his words, ever before this ventured as much? Such meetings as these may claim that they have made such courage and frankness possible, without risk of ruin.

I listened with the greatest interest to our young friend from Maryland (Miss F. E. WATKINS;) and it was a sad question to ask, if there was no hill, no forest, no glen in Massachusetts where we could shelter a slave? I do not feel like calling myself very boldly a successful anti-slavery man, while that is true in Massachusetts. We all know it. The saddest moment of my life was when I looked into the tearful eyes of Anthony Burns, and he asked me the question—'Is there nothing you can do for me?' and I went down into the recesses of my own heart,—I called up in my mind judges, jurors, government, statutes, churches, the wealth of old civilization, honored State names—one after another they sank beneath me, and I could only answer him—'No, there is no hope for you in the city of Boston, nor in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; there is no thread of law to hang a hope upon.' I went out of his cell with the conviction of what a waste and failure civilization had been in our own loved Commonwealth. There was a man, doubly entitled to freedom, for he was not only born free, but had achieved it by his own right hand,—he sat there before me, and often as I had boasted of Boston and Massachusetts, there was not a shred of protection to offer him. The noblest function of the State, the protection of the innocent man, was wanting; and I swore by the living God, that I would lay no such flattering unction to my soul again; that I would leave no stone unturned, no word unspoken, until I had made it possible in the streets of Boston for any man to tell his name. (Applause.) I mean to keep that oath, if before it Church and State go down alike. I mean to keep it at the sacrifice of the most honored names that any party can offer. What I demand of the Free Soil leaders and of the pulpit is, not that they shall carry freedom to Kansas, or prevent the annexation of Cuba, but, while they do their own work, that they shall labor with me to create such a public sentiment in Massachusetts that we can save the old Commonwealth at last, as the refuge-place of any slave who wishes to set his foot upon its soil.

I believe that the settlement of this question is to come at last, State by State. We cannot expect to take up a colossal Union of twenty millions of people and four millions of slaves, valued at two hundred millions of dollars, and destroy it at a blow. That is not the way these questions are settled. We shall clutch them off State by State. Wisconsin is almost ready for it. I asked the Chief Justice of that State what he would do if Judge McLean had been there and arrested Mr. Booth and put him in jail. 'Sir,' said he, 'I would have put Judge McLean there by his side.' Let me see such a Chief Justice in Massachusetts, and I will find a place for Massachusetts law to rest upon; and let no judge, no authority of the Union presume to say that a law sealed by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is not the law, as our Court now decides. Yes, Wisconsin is ready for the dissolution of the Union, on the precise point upon which will come the conflict—the Judiciary. There is more danger in judges than in Congress. Here sits upon our platform Miss DELIA WEBSTER, who has found what the Judiciary of Kentucky really is. Her freedom was sacrificed, her property wrested from her; and the Judge who signed the warrant to commit her to prison, immediately before quitting his seat wrote his resignation, knowing well he had been the tool of wealth and malice; and when he who succeeded the official by whose authority she was imprisoned signed the warrant by which she was released, he was told that he would be turned out of office before a twelvemonth,—and he was. What more monstrous prostitution of judicial office can be found in the record of the Jameses and Charleses than that?

Slavery knows the power and influence of the Judiciary; knows that if it can fasten on the neck of the people the idea of the sacredness of law, it can keep them quiet for half a century. We have two means by which to fight them; one is, to put on those benches men like the Chief Justice of Wisconsin; and the second is, to educate the people into the conviction that a bad law is better broken than obeyed. (Applause.) That parchment is not law which issues from a drunken House of Representatives at Washington, and is not to be obeyed. Open the doors of Congress, and while Doctors of Divinity, like Sharp, kneel down and kiss the wine-bespattered lintels of the doors of the House of Representatives at Washington, and say of their votes—'These are the enactments of the most High God; obey them Christians! whether you think them right or wrong!'—let us teach the nation to say to those drunken and riotous men—'This bloody parchment is not law, and we will not obey it!'

We are to judge all things in virtue of the sovereignty of the individual abolition conscience. If slavery is not so very bad, hug the Union, love it, spare it! If you like servile priests like Adams, venal poets like Longfellow, old men grown gray in the service of freedom brought at last to the ground, sacrificed before the altar of Slavery, like that honored head of Pierpont; if you like a history such as ours, written all over with servility; if you like men dug up from the depths of public contempt, and elevated to high official positions, like Caleb Cushing, who is doing more to fix the fate of this Union than any single man has done for twenty-five years,—if you like such things, have them! But if in all this you recognise the influence of a system so powerful, so dangerous, so deadly, that it is worth while to risk any thing to get rid of it, then be an Abolitionist; make it your business, no matter what shall be the consequences! I would trample altar, Constitution, the Union itself under my feet, if by no other means I could reach the slave. (Loud applause.) For what man makes is dust, weighed against man himself, God's own creation.

No Free Soil party shall ever hear a word of criticism from me, if they will have a preamble to their platform like this:—'Slavery is the worst thing on American soil. Man is the only thing sacred. If we can lift him up from Carolina soil in no other way, we will put the State and Church down there, and crowd him up!' After they have given the outside world to understand this as their first principle, then let them say—'In the mean time, we think it possible we can save Kansas, keep Cuba out, repeal the Fugitive Slave Bill, utter a thousand glorious orations in Congress, and therefore mean, as a preliminary step, to do it, or, at least, try. But, in the mean time, understand, you men and women who stay at home and educate the children, who create the public opinion, and save us when we fail,—understand, that when you raise the long and universal cry, "Down with the flag itself! if in no other way we can reach the slave," you shall have CHARLES SUMNER as the first mate of that ship.' (I must put GARRISON as captain.) (Cheers.)

You see, the difficulty is, to get this public sentiment behind the politicians. We cannot afford a generation of failures; we have had enough. If there had been a GARRISON alive in 1819, we should have saved DANIEL WEBSTER. I think DANIEL WEBSTER was as good as CHARLES SUMNER, in the main, if you had taken him early; and I am not certain that FRANKLIN PIERCE might not have been made into something decent, if he had been taken early. (Laughter.) If there had been behind the Missouri Compromise a religious sentiment; if, when Jonathan Mason had come home after his vote, no man had taken him by the hand, we should have had no more traitors in Massachusetts. I remember that one day, when he was on the Common, I joined with other boys in hissing him, near the Frog Pond, and that hiss was the glory of my boyhood. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS came home and walked round Boston Common, and there was but one man in the city who shook hands with him. He had voted against State street! But JONATHAN MASON came home, and every body played whist with him; he could go any where but into politics. There was no religious sentiment at bottom—no principle; it was a mere matter of dollars and cents—a political struggle, which had no root in the hearts of the people.

MR. BANKS says we shall have twenty States from Mexico, if a Slavery Administration comes into power next time. Then where is Congress? The Union, then, is a mockery and a sham. And yet, in the judgment of a man better competent to decide than perhaps any man just now, that is to be the result of the election of a man like Pierce. Yet I was assured in Illinois, a month ago, that Douglas could carry the State. And then, if Pennsylvania goes too, where are we?

My argument shall always be to Abolitionists—'I do not ask you to go against the Union, unless I can show you a cause worthy of it. If the Orthodox denomination is worth more than the principle which called it into being, cling to it! If the Union is worth more than individual and public honor, and the sacred rights of man, then cling to it! But if individual servility, national disgrace, and monstrous injustice, are not to be prevented but by getting rid of the Union, and even of the Church, in order to reach the slave, then make up your minds which you will choose.

My friend FOSTER is for hurrying convictions into action before they are ready to follow him. We want these meetings, small or large. The very fact that they are held is something. Congress has not said or done much for six weeks past, but it is a perpetual blister. It is drawing the attention of the whole country, doing nothing. I wish it may go on doing nothing. The fact that a Disunion meeting is actually held in Boston is a great thing to me. The fact that it is held here is the reason a Southerner condescends to come to Boston to lecture on Slavery. When the slaveholder comes down from that position which Calhoun and Clay occupied, and says—'I am willing to look two thousand Massachusetts men in the face, and tell them why I think slavery is a good institution, he has got a good deal lower than fifteen years ago.'

And do you remember where we drifted from? Webster made it his boast that he had never discussed slavery in the Senate. Benton did the same; and Clay, in 1839, proclaimed that it would be moral treason to discuss slavery. And now, we have half a dozen gentlemen,—no, not *gentlemen*, (applause,)—sending back answers to a Boston Committee, giving reasons why they will or will not tell Massachusetts why slavery is a good institution. This is a very great change. The discussion on the floor of Congress is to be, how we shall separate, and what shall be the arrangements; and you will not live many years before you will see that happen, if we have a judge as bold as the one in Wisconsin,—a man who shall dare to put Judge Curtis in jail, if he should undertake to set aside the laws of the Commonwealth. Remodel your Supreme Court, put JOHN A. ANDREW in the place of Judge Shaw, and you will see the Personal Liberty Bill executed in Massachusetts. When we shall see ROCKWOOD HOAR or JOHN A. ANDREW in that place, that will be the best Personal Liberty Bill. We do not need new laws, we need new judges.

You will never see, this side the Mississippi, the bayonets of free and slave States marshalled opposite each other. It is not the function of the Yankee nation. But you may see two great courts, like those of New York and the Union, arrayed against each other, and checkmating the Government; and when it comes, it is the first tocsin of Disunion; the first blow of the god Thor's hammer which is to break the Union asunder.

I think it probable this question is to be fought at last by the Judiciary. After all this political discussion, I want something that will maintain your courts; that will keep on the right side the young men of the legal profession, (most of them right now,) that are to come into prominent life soon. Get me such a feeling here in State street, and in Massachusetts, as will undertake to carry out that Personal Liberty Bill, in defiance of the United States Court, and the Government will dread it more than the rebellion at Syracuse.—Maintain that bill if you can; but a far more important thing is, to put judges on the bench who will carry it in their hearts, whether it is on the statute-book or not. That is the best anti-slavery I know.

I do not believe much in common politics; that it is possible to send men to the Massachusetts Legislature, or to Washington, who will, some of them, not be bought. When I hear the boast of that arrant traitor, Caleb Cushing, with thirty or forty millions of dollars to spend, (that he can always find or buy ten men to support an Administration measure,) I do not believe there is any political virtue capable of withstanding it. Put three hundred men into a house, and let forty millions of dollars flow in at the window,—iniquity will come out at the door. (Laughter and applause.) CHARLES SUMNER is a good man, and he cannot be bought, and WILSON also; but they are not the majority. There are always little clever average men, whose claim to votes has been, they never offended any body by having opinions, and they can always be bought; and they count just as much as Sumner. In politics, there is always trade. Trade lies at the bottom of it. The party has got to trade. Our only hope is not in a party, the very first act of which would be to accept a platform built by STEPHEN FOSTER, and sweep it off immediately for one an inch lower; and by the time the party had been in existence a twelvemonth, the platform would be so changed he would not know it. My friend FOSTER would start with a platform that every good man would kiss; but before a twelvemonth is over, suppose the Commonwealth convulsed with the discovery of Gardner's plot to throw Sumner overboard and make himself Senator, how many of our friend's new party would cling to him, for the magnanimous purpose of being counted merely, when such an issue trembled in the balance, and they thought their votes would help the honest side? In my opinion, our friend FOSTER's whole party would go over. No, I do not believe in such machinery; but I do believe in this,—in a public sentiment like that which met Judge Kane when he put PASSMORE WILLIAMSON into jail; a public sentiment that is easily aroused to defend the highest legal principles; a public sentiment which has already converted half, if not two-thirds, of the young talent of the bar in the Northern States, and has on its side the ablest men who will stand before juries ten years hence. Only give me judges that will array Massachusetts against the Union, and she will pluck herself out. Checkmate this government in the matter of fugitive slaves, and it would be the first stunning blow that would call the Southern States to the necessity of discussing a dissolution of the Union, or settling the whole question in some way. That is a question more easily managed than politics.

I have not talked half as much on this question as my heart dictates, for I incline to the opinion, that when the fight shall finally come, on the question of Slavery or Liberty, it will be settled by the Judges, not by Congress. We never shall conquer there. We shall be defeated there on the Kansas question—on the Cuban question—on the Mexican question—in the Presidential election, beyond a doubt. When it is done, then I think the way to fight is to come home to Massachusetts. CHARLES SUMNER would be four times the use to this Commonwealth as its Chief Justice that he is as its Senator. Take all those Free Soilers home from Washington and cabin them up in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and they will be of great service.

A VOICE—'How are you going to get CHARLES SUMNER on to the bench?'

MR. PHILLIPS—Just as you got him into the Senate,—by voting. By that same public opinion that floated up Gen. WILSON to a seat in the Senate of the United Sttaes. It is not votes, however, that will determine this question—that will bring Massachusetts out of the Union.

I am looking at this question as a practical one. When my friend FOSTER has got fifty thousand voters in Massachusetts, and FRANCIS JACKSON and EDMUND QUINCY as candidates, and has elected them, what are they to do? They are to march to the State House and say—'Mr. Clerk or President, I am chosen from the County of Middlesex a Senator'; and he will hold up the Constitution and say, 'Will you take that oath?' 'No, sir,' the answer will be. 'Then you may go home.'

MR. FOSTER—They would not be obliged to take that oath.

MR. PHILLIPS—No executive or judicial officer can assume office, even State office, without an oath to support the Constitution of the United States. Now, if I thought that even one man could be put inside that State House, by my vote as a Disunionist, to argue Disunion there, I would go forward and vote for him, if I conscientiously could. Then I should ask him, the first thing he did, to propose a Convention of the old Commonwealth, whose object should be to get us out of the Union. But I cannot get him in. I cannot produce that Disunion action through the Legislature. Last year, we had to convince them that the Personal Liberty Bill was *constitutional* before they would pass it. Mark you! I can put a judge on the bench, and in the exercise of his judicial function, he can checkmate the United States Court by the very machinery which the present Government has set up. If I could get the Free Soil party to swear that the first act they would do when they got into the Legislature would be to call a Convention to take into consideration Disunion, I would say amen to their election, though I could not vote for them. But that door is sealed against us. Mr. FOSTER cannot open it, even with the whole county of Worcester on his side. That is the reason why, as a Disunion Abolitionist, I look more to judges to produce the first blow that is to chrystalize this anti-slavery sentiment into practical life. It seems to me the department from which it will most naturally come. Wisconsin is practically out of the Union at this moment. Why did not Pierce or Cushing send somebody to put Booth back into jail? He has no right to be out, according to the United States legislation. The United States put him in, the State judges took him out, and told the United States judges to help themselves if they could. And there that Court stands, defied by the young State of Wisconsin, and the President of the United States dare not attempt to execute his own statutes. That is a great step;—are you aware how great? Aware that at this moment the Fugitive Slave Law is inoperative in the State of Wisconsin, purely by the act of the judges of that State? We could take Massachusetts out of the Union in that respect in a day. Only let Judge Shaw say, 'I shall send to jail any United States Judge who undertakes to disregard or override any State process which shall, under our ruling, annul the Federal action under the Fugitive Slave Law,' and the thing is done. Wisconsin is a new State. She laughed the law to scorn, and despised it. Let New York and Massachusetts take that step. You know power, once safely defied, touches its downfall. The power of the Fugitive Slave Law has been defied by one State of the Union; there is another case of the same kind, a money issue, coming up in Pennsylvania.—Checkmate this aggressive Court, the boldest and most practical engine of tyrants,—led by Curtis, bedevilled by Attorney General Cushing, laurelled with the names of Marshall and Story, sacred, almost, by the reverence New England bears to every thing that calls itself law. It is the nearest to popular control. We cannot go inside of the Government, and turn it inside out; we must attack it outside. Revolution can come only through the Courts defying each other. Begin to insinuate our Disunion doctrine into the practice of the country through the courts;—that is my advice. What we want more than Senators and Representatives, more than even Sharp's rifles in Kansas, is Judges not ossified, not fossilized, but whose veins flow with the red, warm blood of the present century; men who are Abolitionists, who look at the law in the light of those great humane principles which have ever been the source of popular success in Great Britain—which will be so here. Save us the Judiciary! We cannot safely attack the Judge of Probate, while Gov. Gardner is in office; 'Dana's Judge,' I must call Mr. Loring, as, but for his certificate, he would never have disgraced the bench this year. But the anti-slavery sentiment, though it knows it is of no use to attack any man while such a Governor sits in the chair of Massachusetts, does not forget nor forgive. The moment it gets an honest man, with the slightest pretense of anti-slavery in his heart, into the Governor's chair, it will sweep clean the Probate Court of Boston; it will vindicate its title as child of that remorseless fate that never *forgets!* (Loud cheers.)

But while we cherish these hopes and keep firm these purposes, let us pray constantly that this noble disorganization at Washington may never end. May we never see another Speaker or another House of Representatives! Like the clear, quick crack that heralds the avalanche, may this quarrel of factions usher in the glad sight of States separate and defiant, till Liberty and Justice bless their Union, and all races, all human beings, find equal protection under their laws.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

The crowded state of our columns allows room for only a brief notice of this meeting, which, for spirit, and clear-sighted appreciation of the great principles of our cause, was inferior to none of its predecessors. The place of the meeting was an experiment, and, as such, was less favorable than some anticipated. A large population has grown up at the southerly section of the city, and this fact induced the Managers to appoint the annual meeting at Williams Hall, in that quarter, one of the most handsome, commodious, well-lighted and well-ventilated halls in the city. About the usual number of friends from other parts of the State were present, but the people of Boston did not give their wonted attendance. This was unquestionably owing, in part, to the fact that the place of meeting was not central, and therefore inconvenient for residents in the northerly and westerly parts of the city, and partly also to the extreme severity of the weather, Friday being generally considered the coldest day of the winter. There was however steadily present, from first to last, a choice collection of reliable men and women, who are not to be counted as an ordinary gathering.

The principal discussions of the meeting centred around our friend S. S. Foster's proposition,—which he maintained with his customary earnestness,—viz., the formation of a new political Disunion party. Whatever may be the probability of the existence of such a party in the future, it was universally agreed by every other speaker that the present is not the time to form it, and that the attempt to do so would obstruct the progress of the cause. Still more did the Society dissent from Mr. Foster's opinion that the cause of anti-slavery is losing ground, and needs some especial influence to save its life. Many and striking proofs were adduced to the contrary. The general feeling and faith of the meeting were most distinctly that the Anti-Slavery movement is onward, and never more visibly so than at the present hour. For particulars of the discussions, and of the results of the meeting, our readers will look to the official proceedings, which occupy so large a space this week.

It is of course not surprising that a paper like the *Daily Journal* of this city,—one of the most sycophantic and venal to be found any where among doughfaces,—should lay hold of the remarks of a single speaker, as is done in the paragraph following, and carefully suppress every other sentiment and utterance of all the other speakers who addressed the meeting during the two entire days and evenings:

ABOLITION CONVENTION. The annual meeting of the abolitionists of Massachusetts commenced in this city yesterday. It is thinly attended, and the proceedings are dull and spiritless. The chief speaker, yesterday, was Stephen S. Foster, and, according to his account, the abolitionist cause is fast retrograding. He gives it as his experience that *in one half the towns in this State there is not a man who wants to see a disunion lecturer enter the place.* The public, he says, will not listen to disunion sentiments. We are glad to have testimony from this source that the people are disgusted with the disunion talk of these radicals, and that they turn their backs upon them. It is certainly a hopeful sign. We commend it to the attention of Dr. Holmes and his apologists.

All we have to say of this paragraph is, that it utterly and grossly misrepresents the meeting of which it undertakes to speak.

We are more sorry to have to say of another paper—the *Telegraph*, which claims a high anti-slavery character—that it allowed this series of anti-slavery meetings to come and go without one word of friendly notice, without so much as a bare recognition of the fact that this oldest Anti-Slavery Society in the country was in session. Is it principle or policy which dictates this course? It surely cannot be that a professed anti-slavery journal should not *know* of the existence of this meeting. But these are mere straws. Whether Boston will or no, the steady progress of the anti-slavery principle, in Massachusetts, in New England, throughout the country is sure. Let those in whose souls the spirit of truth and of freedom has stirred, only be faithful, each in his place, and they will not fail to see that the Lord himself fights for them and with them.—M.

WORCESTER COUNTY. The friends of the anti-slavery cause in Worcester County South will notice the Annual meeting of the County Society is to be held at Worcester on Saturday and Sunday next, and it is hoped that they will take especial pains to be present, or to be represented there. Officers are to be chosen, and the work of the year determined. Let every town be represented. Now is not the time for the *old anti-slavery guard* to be sleeping on their arms.

CORRECTION. In the Bazaar Report, last week, the acknowledgment for the loan of the Piano Forte was incorrectly made. Mr. JOHN D. WILLARD was the friend who kindly loaned us its use.

Our thanks are also due to Mr. JOHN C. HAYNES for a generous donation of Music, in sheets and volumes.

For the Managers.

POCKET-BOOK LOST. A venerable friend from Middlesex county, while attending the anti-slavery meeting in this city last week, lost his pocket-book. It contained two five dollar bills, one two dollar bill, and a one dollar bill. The finder shall be suitably rewarded, by leaving it at this office, (21 Cornhill.)

☞ ALONZO J. GROVER, of Earlville, Illinois, has been appointed a Lecturing Agent of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and is commended to the confidence of the friends of freedom wherever he may go.

TO CORRESPONDENTS. J. R. J.'s letter, relating to Miss HOLLEY'S meetings in Connecticut, is received and will appear next week.

E. D. Scarborough, Maine. Letter received, and will receive early attention.

Mr. GARRISON is absent from Boston this week, for the purpose of lecturing at Bangor, Maine, and places in that vicinity. He has received M. A. E.'s letter from Bristol, England, and will take early notice of the same.

PRESIDENT PIERCE AND KANSAS. The President has sent a special Message to Congress on the subject of Kansas. He virtually takes sides with the Missouri invaders of Kansas, and with the pro-slavery Legislature elected by them. Ex-Governor Reeder has written a letter, asking a suspension of judgment on the Message, until he has had an opportunity to reply to it, on the floor of Congress.

☞ Will H. A. WILSON, who attended the late Anti-Slavery Bazaar in this city, have the kindness to call at No. 21 Cornhill as soon as convenient?

ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS.

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society have issued the following Tracts for gratuitous distribution:—

No. 1. *The United States Constitution, Examined.*
No. 2. *White Slavery in the United States.*
No. 3. *Colonization.* By Rev. O. B. Frothingham.
No. 4. *Does Slavery Christianize the Negro?* By Rev. T. W. Higginson.
No. 5. *The Inter-State Slave Trade.* By John G. Palfrey.
No. 6. *The 'Ruin' of Jamaica.* By Richard Hildreth.
No. 7. *Revolution the only Remedy for Slavery.*
No. 8. *To Mothers in the Free States.* By Mrs. E. L. Follen.
No. 9. *Influence of Slavery upon the White Population.* By a Lady.
No. 10. *Slavery and the North.* By C. C. Burleigh.
No. 11. *Disunion our Wisdom and our Duty.* By Rev. Charles E. Hodges.
No. 12. *Anti-Slavery Hymns and Songs.* By Mrs. E. L. Follen.
No. 13. *The Two Altars; or, Two Pictures in One.* By Mrs. Harriet B. Stowe.
No. 14. *'How Can I Help to Abolish Slavery?' or, Counsels to the Newly Converted.* By Maria W. Chapman.
No. 15. *What have we, as Individuals, to do with Slavery?* By Susan C. Cabot.
No. 16. *The American Tract Society; and its Policy of Suppression and Silence.* Being the Unanimous Remonstrance of the Fourth Congregational Society, Hartford, Ct.
No. 17. *The God of the Bible Against Slavery.* By Rev. Charles Beecher.

☞ Application for the above Tracts, for gratuitous distribution, should be made to SAMUEL MAY, Jr., 21 Cornhill, Boston; to the Anti-Slavery Offices, 138 Nassau, street, New York, and 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia; to JOEL MCMILLAN, Salem, Columbiana Co., Ohio; or to JACOB WALTON, Jr., Adrian, Michigan.

WANTED.

☞ The last No. of our last volume, (Dec. 28th, 1855,) and the first No. of the present volume, (Jan. 4th, 1856.) Our friends who have these numbers to spare, will greatly oblige us by sending them to this office, directed 'Liberator, 21 Cornhill.'

☞ The following petitions tell their own story. They ought to be signed by every man and woman in the State. Will our friends in the various towns please see to it that every one so disposed has an opportunity to sign them? The papers may be returned to SAMUEL MAY, Jr., 21 Cornhill.

To the House of Representatives of the United States of America:

The undersigned, inhabitants of the State of Massachusetts, respectfully ask for the impeachment of Judge Kane, of the Tenth District, for his atrocious ruling and action in the case of Passmore Williamson.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

We the undersigned, inhabitants of Massachusetts, respectfully protest against the repeal of that law of the Commonwealth which gives to juries the right to judge of the law as well as the fact, entitled, 'An Act concerning the duties and rights of jurors.'

STAMPEDE OF SLAVES—HORRIBLE DENOUEMENT.—*Cincinnati, Jan. 28.* A stampede of slaves from the border counties of Kentucky took place last night. The whereabouts of several of the fugitives having been discovered here, officers at noon to-day proceeded to make arrests. Upon approaching the house where the slaves were secreted, the latter fired, wounding two or three spectators, but not seriously. One slave woman, finding escape impossible, cut the throats of her children, killing one instantly, and severely wounding two others. Six of the fugitives were apprehended, but it is said that eight escaped.

We take the above from the *Daily Journal*, the paper which so much delights in union with slaveholders, and is so greatly pleased at learning that the Disunion sentiment is losing ground with the people. What honest man or woman can repress emotion on hearing of such cases as the above, or can fail to cry out for a total separation from the doers of such abominations!

MARRIED—At Henrietta, N. Y., Jan. 24, by JOSEPH BROWN, Esq., the father of the bride, SAMUEL C. BLACKWELL, of Cincinnati, and Rev. ANTOINETTE L. BROWN, of New York.

☞ Many friends of Miss Brown will be interested to learn, that the gentleman with whom she has connected herself in marriage is a brother of the husband of Lucy Stone Blackwell. We heartily wish both parties to this new connexion many days of the fullest happiness which any human relation can know.

In Perrinton, N. Y., Nov. 15, by a ceremony of their own, ALBERT C. FISH, of Rochester, and LUCY A. SIMPSON of Perrinton.

DIED—At East Greenwich, R. I., JOHN BROWN, Esq., aged 73 years.

☞ In a letter from the daughter of our deceased friend, whose early and long-extended interest in the Anti-Slavery cause we shall ever remember with pleasure and gratitude, she says—'I am not sure that our dear father enjoyed a personal acquaintance with yourself, but there are many readers of THE LIBERATOR to whom his memory will be familiar. He was for several years President of the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society, having from the birth of the Anti-Slavery enterprise felt the sincerest interest in its success. The cheerfulness with which he welcomed to his home the advocates of the cause, at a time when it required moral courage to be an Abolitionist, will be green in the remembrance of not a few. Such will sympathise with us in our bereavement, and rejoice with us that he "sleeps well," where the "slave is free from his master."'

In Northampton, Jan. 22, of congestion of the lungs, Miss LUCETTA UPHAM, daughter of George and Martha Upham, of Brookfield, aged 40 years.

☞ WM. WELLS BROWN, an Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will hold meetings as follows:

Westboro',	Friday,	Feb. 1.
Worcester,	Sunday,	" 3.
Clappville,	Tuesday,	" 5.
Oxford,	Wednesday,	" 6.
Webster,	Thursday,	" 7.
Danvers,	Sunday,	" 10.
South Dedham,	Monday,	" 11.
Walpole Centre,	Tuesday,	" 12.
Fall River,	Sunday,	" 17.

☞ C. C. BURLEIGH, an Agent of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—
East Randolph, Friday evening, Feb. 1.
South Weymouth, Saturday, evening, Feb. 2.
Abington, Town Hall, Sunday, A. M., and P. M., Feb. 3.
Bridgewater, Town Hall, Sunday evening, Feb. 3.
In behalf of the Society, LEWIS FORD.

☞ ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings as follows:

Worcester,	Saturday eve'g and Sun.,	Feb. 2 &	3.
Framingham,	Tuesday "	"	5.
Wayland,	Wednes., "	"	6.
Sudbury,	Thursday "	"	7.
Lincoln,	Friday "	"	8.

☞ MISS SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture at WESTERLY, and other towns in Rhode Island, the two coming weeks.

☞ WORCESTER CO. (SOUTH) A. S. SOCIETY.—The Annual Meeting of the *Worcester County South Division Anti-Slavery Society* will be held at WORCESTER, in Horticultural Hall, commencing on Saturday evening, Feb 2d, at 7 o'clock, P. M., and continuing on Sunday, Feb. 3, through the afternoon and evening.

☞ ANDREW T. FOSS, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, WM. W. BROWN, and other speakers are expected.

☞ Officers for the ensuing year are to be chosen, and a general attendance of members is requested.

EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, *President.*
JOHN H. CRANE, *Sec'y.*

POETRY.

THE MEETING-PLACE.

BY DR. H. BONAR, OF KELSO.

'The ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads.' Isaiah, 35 : 10.

Where the faded flower shall freshen—
Freshen never more to fade ;
Where the shaded sky shall brighten—
Brighten never more to shade ;
Where the sun-blaze never scorches ;
Where the star-beams cease to chill ;

Where no tempest stirs the echoes
Of the wood, or wave, or hill ;
Where the morn shall wake in gladness,
And the noon the joy prolong,
Where the daylight dies in fragrance,
Mid the burst of holy song ;—
Brother, we shall meet and rest,
Mid the holy and the blest !

Where no shadow shall bewilder,
Where life's vain parade is o'er,
Where the sleep of sin is broken,
And the dreamer dreams no more :
Where the bond is never severed—
Partings, claspings, sob and moan,
Midnight waking, twilight weeping,
Heavy noon-tide—all are done ;
Where the child has found its mother,
Where the mother finds the child ;
Where dear families are gathered,
That were scattered on the wild ;
Brother, we shall meet and rest,
Mid the holy and the blest !

Where the hidden wound is healed,
Where the blighted life re-blooms,
Where the smitten heart the freshness
Of its buoyant youth resumes ;
Where the love that here we lavish
On the withering leaves of time,
Shall have fadeless flowers to fix on,
In an ever spring-bright clime ;
Where we find the joy of loving
As we never loved before,—
Loving on, unchilled, unhindered,
Loving once, and evermore ;—
Brother, we shall meet and rest,
Mid the holy and the blest !

Where a blasted world shall brighten
Underneath a bluer sphere,
And a softer, gentler sunshine
Shed its healing splendor here ;
Where earth's barren vales shall blossom,
Putting on her robe of green,
And a purer, fairer Eden
Be where only wastes have been ;
Where a King, in kingly glory,
Such as earth has never known,
Shall assume the righteous sceptre,
Claim and wear the holy crown ;
Brother, we shall meet and rest,
Mid the holy and the blest !

HUMANITY AT HOME.

BY BOWRING.

I honor and I love the mind
Whose warm and generous thoughts embrace
The common interests of our kind,
Through time's long track, and earth's wide space ;
And, like the glorious god of day,
Sheds o'er the world its living ray.

I watch with throbbing heart the zeal,
Whose all-incorporating plan
Can teach a million souls to feel
For all that's man's—for all that's man !
And every human title blend
In those of brother and of friend.

I've travell'd many a country far,
Through Finland's wild, on Afric's strand ;
And there went with me, like a star,
The glory of my native land ;
A star whose light, where'er I trod,
Seemed blazing with the truths of God.

But sometimes sadness came and dwelt
Within my heart. 'Twas proud to hear
My country's name ; but, oh ! I felt
That misery dwelt unheeded there ;
That hearts were sad, and eyes were wet—
Forgotten—how could I forget ?

I would not check the nobly good,
Who, joy diffusing, widely roam ;
But I would whisper, if I could,
Look round, for there are wrongs at home ;
And voices, though but feeble, call
On heav'n—on thee—on me—on all.

Dost thou not hear their cry ? To thee,
Who hears the lightest plaint of woe
That's borne across the distant sea,
Can their appeals be vain ? Oh, no !
Thou didst but want some tongue to say,
Grief's sons are here, and these are they.

A VOICE FROM OLD ENGLAND.

Americans, will you regard a voice
That comes across the sea from Britain's shore ?
How would it make a stranger's heart rejoice
To win to Freedom's cause one friend the more !

You hold the truth of man's equality,
That none to be oppressive have a right ;
Then how can you so inconsistent be
As to enslave, because you have the might ?

If all are equal, and if none have right
To be unjust, or cause another pain,
How then can you God's laws eternal blight,
And round the negro throw vile Slavery's chain ?

Is not the negro human ? Is his heart
Incapable of love, his mind of thought ?
Do you not fear instruction to impart
To him ? Or cannot he be taught ?

You know, you also know that Slavery,
In which you hold three millions of your kind,
Has, of necessity, invariably,
A tendency to brutalize the mind.

The noblest creatures exercise their power
To bless the wretched and support the weak ;
But you upon the weak and wretched lower ;
The 'bruised reed' you scruple not to break.

How will you answer at the bar of God,
For having made a fellow-man a slave ?
Can you endure the terrors of his rod,
His deep, determined anger can you brave ?

Arise ! to captive myriads freedom speak !
Gladden the spirit of each abject slave !
Nought is more fiendlike than to oppress the weak,
Nor aught more Godlike than to bless and save.

THE PRESS.

How shall I speak thee, or thy power address,
Thou god of our idolatry—the Press ?
By thee, religion, liberty, and laws,
Exert their influence, and advance their cause ;
By thee, worse plagues than Pharaoh's land befell,
Diffused, make earth the vestibule of hell !
Thou fountain, at which drink the good and wise ;
Thou ever bubbling spring of endless lies ;
Like Eden's dead, probationary tree,
Knowledge of good and evil is from thee.—Cowper.

LOVE INCONCEALABLE.

Who can hide fire ? If 't be uncovered, light ;
If covered, smoke betrays it to the sight :
Love is that fire which still some sign affords ;
If hid, they are sighs ; if open, they are words.

THE LIBERATOR.

A FREE-THINKER.

Caledonia, Dec. 8th, 1855.

Mr. Editor :

Being one of that free and outspoken class very appropriately styled 'Free-Thinkers,' and having been often prostrated by that levelling weapon, that knock-down argument of the priest, '*Infidel*,' I have been led to note the following thoughts on Infidelity, which I submit to your disposal.

—

INFIDELITY—ITS NATURE, CAUSES AND CURE.

Contrasted with the boundless unknown, the infinite store of unexplored facts, laws and relations existing in and throughout the limitless expanse of infinitude, man's present stock of knowledge may and does appear very small. From this stand-point, it may consistently be affirmed, that as yet, man has hardly entered the vestibule of knowledge ; has hardly read the preface to the great volume of Nature ; ay, has not even grasped the *full* extent of a single principle. But when considered as the rudimental attainment of infant minds, or contrasted with what may be conceived of as a state of total ignorance, man's knowledge-temple seems reared mountain-high, and it may be reasonably alleged, as the serpent in the garden predicted, (and as it is said God afterwards acknowledged,) that 'man has become as a God, knowing good and evil.' So admirably adequate are the present facilities for education, that the delicate pages of new-born spirits are soon figured over with the preserved wisdom treasures of the past, while the present, with its multifarious productions, is easily daguerreotyped upon their impressible surface. What of man's physical nature and its relation to the physical universe, of his intellectual and moral natures, and their relations to one another, to the external world, and to the great Spirit centre, may not now be learned by a few years' diligent study ? Possibly, very much ; yet no truth is more apparent, than that a sufficient knowledge of these several relations may be attained to answer all earthly needs, and if heeded, to render the possessor quite happy ; for be it known, happiness in this or any other sphere of existence can be secured only by the strictest adherence to and observance of Nature's unchangeable conditions or laws. Here, then, is presented the solution to the great problem, the answer to the all-important query—'Why, possessing such a vast deal of knowledge and apparent wisdom, is man yet so miserably sick and unhappy ?' Because of his *infidelity to known truth, to known right, and to known justice.*

Yes, the world is full of infidelity. Mankind know the truth, but live it not ; understand the law, but heed it not ; realize the validity of certain relations, but walk in daily conflict with the same ; discern the right and the just, but trample them under their feet. In private and in public, in Church and in State, self-evident rights and truths are conceded, and self-evident wrongs and errors practised. Governments avow certain principles to be the only foundation for just and equitable legislation, but immediately abandon them, and rear a superstructure of rags and tatters, nurturing and sustaining the blackest kind of villany and crime. Churches of all denominations sound their devout and holy professions and purposes abroad continually ; their bloody hands and groaning coffers revealing the while the blasphemous mockery of their pretendings.

Thus it is that institutions and nations, as well as individuals, are *infidel*—untrue to their highest convictions of *right* ; and thus has it been in all ages of the world of which we have any credible history. There have been many tellers, but few, very few doers of the law.

Solomon, in his day, developed and published many high-toned and significant truths, but did he *live* those truths ? And which is the wiser, to *proclaim* a truth, or to *live* it ? There can be but one answer, viz.—*to live it !* Then, in all sincerity would I submit the query, who are the true and faithful of our day ? the loud-mouthed pretenders, or the noiseless, unpretending doers ? Or who the untrue, the infidel—those who, as fast as they discover the path of duty, walk quietly therein, sounding no trumpet to attract the attention of the multitude ; doing no alms to be seen of men ; performing no rites that they may seem to the world to be religious ; or those who thunder forth continually declarations of their devotedness to their God and love to their brethren, but who move in hourly conflict with some physical or spiritual relation of their being ? How strangely has a priest-ridden world reversed the facts in answer to the above proposition ! When will mankind learn that *fidelity* is a living, practical obedience to truth, and *infidelity* its opposite ? But, casting the unrighteous judgments of man to the wind, of which they are the offspring, let us inquire—Why do mankind thus live a lie, rather than the truth ? Why are they untrue to what is so clearly seen to be right and just ? Because, first, of a hereditary predisposition and educational proclivity towards *man-worship*, which always leads to a copying of false example rather than of righteous precept—to an elevation of *men* above *principles*. Second, a general supersensuousness, which ever calls for a present indulgence and gratification, without regard to ultimate consequences. Third, because of an undue reverence for the sayings and doings of the ignorant past. And, finally, an ignorance of the soul-cheering truth, that happiness is alone to be gained by living in harmony and coincidence with law and relation. And here, too, is suggested the only reliable antidote for the evil. Let this one great truth be fully realized by rational and intelligent man, that duty and subjective utility are one, or, at least, are so correlated that to do the one is to answer the demands of the other ; that love begets love, and well-doing well-being ; in short, that that central desire in man for happiness can only be gratified by an unerring fidelity to truth ; and those constitutional and educational misdirections will as surely be outgrown, and the world be cleansed from the bane of infidelity, as that man will choose pleasure before pain, happiness before misery.

T. C.

MODERN CHRISTIANITY.

Mr. Garrison :

Dear Sir,—The following, which I copy from a communication published in the Boston *Traveller*, so aptly illustrates the prevailing idea regarding Christianity, that I desire to make it the subject of a few remarks in the columns of The Liberator.—Speaking of the late Mr. Ebenezer Wheelwright, this correspondent holds the following language :—

'May we not believe that his uniform and devout attendance on public worship, his strict observance of the Sabbath, his generous support of the gospel, maintenance of family worship, love of the Scriptures, and affection for the ministers of Christ, were the result of an early renewing influence of the Holy Spirit ?'

Now, no doubt this writer flatters himself that he has tried his friend according to a high standard, and finds him possessed of all the virtues requisite to a true Christian character ; yet who does not know hundreds of men, with all the traits here enumerated, who are the veriest scoundrels that disgrace humanity ? Mr. W. may have been a very amiable man, for aught I know, as my knowledge of him is limited to this communication ; but I should hate to have a friend of mine 'damned with such faint praise' as this, after an existence of ninety years. This system of judging men by their conformity to church ceremonies is nothing less than a machination of priestcraft,—the same in every church all the world over,—and is as repugnant to true Christianity as Judaism itself.

I consider joining a church, uniform attendance on public worship, strict observance of the Sabbath, regarding the Bible as inspired, or any other church test of the present day, no more evidence of a man's being a Christian, than joining the order of Know-Nothings, strict attendance on political party caucuses, or a firm belief in the inspiration of Fourth of July orations. All history, observation and experience prove that such tests are not reliable. Christ himself was denounced by the Jews as a Sabbath-breaker, and yet his professed followers of the present time make its observance a test of Christianity. The editors of the *Traveller* not long since asserted in their paper, that they considered a due observance of the Sabbath the foundation of Christianity ! What a brainless, illogical conclusion ! It might be said, with equal propriety, that the celebration of the Fourth of July is the foundation of Republicanism ! The truth is, modern Christianity has become so diluted with this Sabbatical, Bible-worshipping, go-to-meeting religion, that the original precepts of Christ are no where to be found in the teachings of its ministers or the practice of their proselytes. I have one of these pseudo-Christians in my mind's eye at this moment,—a mean, grasping, avaricious man, whose soul is hedged in by his farm fence, and whose heart is enclosed in his purse. He has an old dilapidated building which he styles a house, which he lets at rack-rent to those whom necessity compels to accept his terms, or the alternative of living in the open air. A short time since, he turned a poor man, who actually belonged to the same church, out of this house, for no other crime than being totally unable to pay a few dollars' rent ; and, to cap the climax of meanness, he trusteed this man's employer for a trifling sum which was due him, with the full knowledge that this was the last resource left the poor man, wherewith to supply the necessities of his needy family. Now, this man is a modern Christian, a member of the Orthodox church in this town, in good standing, whither he goes on Sundays to thank the Lord that he is not as other men are, Sabbath-breakers, doubters of the Bible, &c. This man is loud in his denunciations of infidel Abolitionists, clamorous for the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, and particularly severe upon absentees from church on Sundays. Now, if by some process we could be stripped of soul, mind, conscience, every thing which raises us above the brutes, I would not exchange the animal instinct that remained for all this man's Christianity. And yet, he stands the tests of the so-called Christian Church, while he tramples upon the noblest precepts of Christ !

I would have no controversy with this man, or any other like him, with regard to his particular form of religion, did not such men bring contempt and disgrace upon Christ, by clothing their wretched creeds with the splendor of his name. I believe with Wendell Phillips, that things should be called by their right names ; and Christ, to whom we allow matchless powers of discrimination, denominated just such men as I have been describing 'vipers,' and I have no desire to qualify the term.

PARKERITE.

Sherburne, Mass.

A WORTHY EXAMPLE.

New Bedford, Jan. 23d, 1856.

Friend Garrison :

My object in calling attention to the article below is to excite in the minds of our colored citizens a spirit of industry and enterprise that will enable them to overcome many obstacles which meet them in almost every department of business. The gentleman referred to is an old acquaintance. This is his birth-place. I have known him from childhood. He was a smart and active boy. He has a mechanical genius, which began to develop in his early days. This employment, however, did not produce compensation adequate to his ambition, and he determined to turn his attention to a new field of labor, which proved to be more lucrative. Mr. Johnson is now a merchant of respectability. He is highly intelligent and wealthy ; a terse writer and eloquent speaker. The able address delivered by him in Liberty Hall, after the rendition of Anthony Burns, when Mayor French presided, and Senator Wilson, Hon. Edward L. Keyes, Edward Mott Robinson, the millionaire, and other distinguished gentlemen, made speeches, gave him a prominence among the men of talent which might be coveted by the favored class. During a residence of two years in California, he was engaged in mercantile pursuits. Through his sagacity and perseverance, he realized a handsome property. He is perfectly conversant with the various branches of trade. There are but few men who understand better how to prosecute successfully any enterprise they may have entered upon than he does. His amiable and accomplished wife, through whose efforts the Female Anti-Slavery Society was formed here, and a course of lectures sustained, did much to assist her companion during his absence. She managed his business with skill and prudence. She was often seen on Milk street engaged in the purchase of merchandise ; then in the drawing-room, preparing plans for buildings, many of which were shipped to San Francisco. Her proficiency in business excited admiration, and called forth expressions of praise from all who had occasion to confer with her in this new employment. The speculations conceived and executed by her produced a profit amounting to several thousand dollars. I doubt if there is another lady, of any color, in our city, whose knowledge of business surpasses Mrs. Johnson's. Her father-in-law was an early and zealous friend of The Liberator, and for many years an active agent for the paper. He set an example that should be emulated by those who are identified with him by complexion.

Wendell Phillips, Esq., recently said that education expands the intellect ; and as the doors of our public schools are now open to colored children, their parents should use all honorable means to acquire wealth, which will exert a potent influence, and materially assist them in commanding respect from the American white people, who worship that idol. This is timely advice, and it will be seen and felt in the future. Colored men possess capabilities fitting them to fill any situation of trust. Their fidelity will compare favorably with the Anglo-Saxon. They have been too long neglected. It is the height of my ambition to see them take a bold and decided position before the world. Let them stand and be judged according to their merits. The old marks of prejudice and proscription are slowly disappearing. There is a bright future yet for such as diligently seek after intelligence, position and wealth.

Yours, for the abolition of chattel slavery,
and the elevation of the colored race,

EZRA KELLEY.

—

Improvements on South Water Street. During the past month, the building owned by the heirs of Richard Johnson, between Union and School streets, has been completely remodeled, enlarged and improved, under the direction of Mr. Ezra R. Johnson. The stores are fitted up in modern style, and present a fine appearance. This business locality has increased in importance since the steamers and Fairhaven Branch Railroad established their depot in that vicinity. The addition of several large clothing establishments that have removed to this section of the street has assisted in turning the current of trade in this department. May they all receive an increase of patronage in their new quarters !—*Daily Standard.*

THE BIBLE AND THE SABBATH SCHOOL.

Friend Garrison :

If any one doubts that the Church is engaged in a *great* work, let him read the following list of questions, prepared and published for the anniversary meeting of the Sunday School in a neighboring town :—

1. What was the name of the giant who had twenty-four fingers and toes ? 20th Chron.

2. What person had a nail driven through his head ? 4th Judges.

3. Who wore a garment that had no seam ? 19th John.

4. What distinguished man's sons had bonnets made for them ? 28th Exodus.

5th. There is only one woman whose age is mentioned in the Bible—what was her name ? 23d Genesis.

6. How many pitchers were broken by an army of men ? What was in them ? 7th Judges.

7. Where in the Bible is there an account of a temperance society ? Who belonged to it ? 35th Jeremiah.

8. How many persons lapped water with their tongues like the dogs ? 7th Judges.

9. Who ploughed with twelve yoke of oxen ? 1 Kings, chap. 19th.

10. Who was it had thirty sons and thirty daughters ? 12th Judges.

The foregoing questions must for ever put at rest the oft-repeated insinuation, that the Sunday-School is not doing a mighty work for the redemption of the world. The man who ploughed with twelve yoke of oxen, our children should keep in everlasting remembrance ; and a family of thirty sons and thirty daughters in our day should excite physiological inquiry, if nothing more. Hence the inquiry concerning their paternity. And then, the name of the giant who had twenty-four fingers and toes ! How momentous the inquiry !

In order to induce a laudable degree of religious inquiry among our Sabbath-School brethren, I will suggest a few questions, perhaps equally important, which may serve them for some public occasion like the one just alluded to :—

1. How old was the Shunamite damsel who ministered to King David's necessities ?

2. How much oil did Zadok the priest use in anointing Solomon, after he rode his father's mule down to Gihon ?

3. What was the expense of Elijah's board per day, when fed by the ravens at the brook Cherith ?

4. What was the name of the man who drew a bow at a venture, and smote the king of Israel between the joints of the harness ?

Some more, equally important, might be suggested ; and, should these be thought to possess any *extraordinary* merit, more will be forthcoming.

Yours, &c., J. CUSHING.

South Hingham, Mass.

MILITARY ANECDOTE.

Sometime since, a gentleman came to L—— to attend a military muster, and having a sister here, came to her house in the evening to see the family and spend the night. The lady had a bright little girl of some three years of age, who, on the appearance of the gentleman in uniform, ran to her mother, and remained close by her side for safety. During tea-time, and in the evening, nothing could induce the little one to go near the soldier ; no coaxing or wheedling sufficed to induce her to leave her mother, and finally they gave it up. After a while, the man in uniform took a light, and, bidding the family 'good night,' left the room to go up stairs to bed. The little girl followed cautiously into the entry, and peeped up stairs to see him go into his chamber. She then ran back hastily to her mother, and, clapping her hands in great glee, said—'Little Mary is n't afraid now, mamma ; ze monkey is don to bed ! I see ze monkey do up a stairs, mamma ; so little Mary is n't afraid now, for ze monkey has don, mamma—the monkey has don to bed ! I see ze monkey do up a stairs ; I is n't afraid now.' The child had never seen a military company, but she *had* seen the organ-grinder, with his monkey, in a red coat, and naturally concluded that the uncle in uniform was a monkey of a larger species.

P.

From the Philadelphia Woman's Advocate.

LECTURES AT PORTLAND.

Our attention has been called to a late number of the Portland *Transcript*, containing extracts of lectures delivered in that place, by Hon. John A. Bolles and Dr. Solger, in which opinions are put forth that we hope find no response in the hearts of the citizens of the progressive and enterprising State of Maine. We have combated many objections to the advancement of women, but the assertions these gentlemen have made are so completely unfounded, that they can only be attributed to ignorance or malice, though it could hardly be from the first cause, to judge by their titles. The *Honorable* gentleman's lecture, it appears, was delivered with a dejected countenance, and without either animation or vivacity. It consisted principally of the oft-repeated twaddle about woman's sphere, and would deserve no notice, but for an assertion so revolting that we are astonished it could be made with impunity in an audience of men who had the least respect for a wife, sister, or mother. The Yankee girls are said to possess spirit ; there could have been none present, or he would not have dared to say that 'a woman's instincts indicate her sphere, and that these tend only to maternity.' In plain language, he regards women as a farmer regards imported cattle. His opinion would do injustice to a dog. He could not have spoken less respectfully of an oyster.

We are charitable enough to suppose that Dr. Solger's mistakes are the result of ignorance. He is reported to have said that 'while the female sex have always had the greatest opportunities for improvement in all matters of science and knowledge, not one of them has ever made a great and useful discovery, started a new and striking idea, or done any other prominent and lasting good to mankind.'

We will do him the justice to think him incorrectly reported in the paragraph where he is made to say that woman has had greater opportunities than man for improvement in all matters of science and knowledge. If we knew to what profession the Doctor belongs, we could give him many instances in his own vocation wherein women have distinguished themselves ; and we could more effectually convict him of ignorance if we knew whether he is an M. D., a D. D., an LL. D., or a doctor by compliment ; for the title of doctor is indiscriminately applied. We have known it as a prefix to the name of an intellectual giant, and have heard it conferred upon a physical dwarf and idiot. If he be an M. D. he must know that the most valuable medical receipts are those known as 'old women's remedies.' If he but open a medical work, he will find that a woman—Lady Montague—introduced innoculation into England ; and a tyro in the art can tell him that the greatest discovery in the annals of medicine was made by a country girl, and by her imparted to Jenner. If he be a Doctor of Divinity, it is evident he has never read Mrs. Child's great work on the Progress of Religious Ideas. He would have there found many new and striking truths. If he be an LL. D., he should remember the great women of literature, whose names are legion, and which any child can repeat. But if possessed of common information, he could have told his hearers that to Queen Isabella, of Spain, we are indebted for the discovery of this continent ; that Joan of Arc was the most successful warrior of her age ; that when her king was in despair, and the glory of her country departed, she raised the flower of France, which was drooping in the dust, bore it through fire, and blood and battle, till those who had sullied its purity were defeated, dishonored, and driven from the land, and restored the lily, fragrant and blooming, into the hands of her ungrateful sovereign. He might have spoken of the indomitable perseverance of Margaret of Anjou, whose efforts to regain the crown of England for her son form one of the most interesting episodes in history ; not forgetting Grace Darling, that noble girl, who, when the storm raged, and the shrieks of drowning persons made men cower with terror, risked her own life that others might be saved. He might have held up as bright examples of great and lasting good to humanity, such women as Mrs. Fry, who went from prison to prison, listened to the sorrows, and alleviated the miseries of the unfortunate inmates, spoke to them encouragingly, and prayed to God unceasingly that they might be reformed. And he might have spoken of a lady now at Scutari, tending the sick, dying, and mutilated men—men who, while gasping for breath, whisper the name of Florence Nightingale.

He might have told his audience of a book written by a woman, which has a larger circulation than any book of the kind ever published in this country ; that it was translated into seven different languages ; and also of a lady of Nantucket, making discoveries in astronomy ; of Rosa Bonheur, the greatest artist now living ; of Madam Ida Pfeiffer, the traveller ; and hundreds of other women, who have done all that he says they never have done.

If the lecturer is a doctor by compliment, his politeness should have prevented him from speaking so disparagingly of those who have done him no harm, and are striving, God knows how diligently, to obtain for themselves and their sex such positions, employment, and remuneration, that none of their number may be outcasts from society, and that they may never be reduced to such distress that chastity is no longer a virtue, and suicide ceases to be a crime.

SPIRITUAL MANIFESTATIONS.

B. P. Shillaber, Esq., in the Boston *Post* of the 18th ult., relates some of his observations of the 'spiritual manifestations,' made at the house of 'one of our most respectable merchants at the west end of the city,' a few evenings since. He says :

'Among the parties was one who was confessedly a disbeliever in all matters super-mundane, and he was requested to examine the table, in order to convince himself that there was no machinery about it. The idea of trickery could not for a moment be entertained, but yet the table was turned bottom up by the medium, and it was seen that there were no springs or wires there which could be pressed in to produce effects. The medium was a young man of 17, with an honest, pleasing face, and a physical force that scarcely warranted the belief that he could perform the superhuman things said to be done through his agency.

The table about which the party seated themselves was between three and four feet in diameter, without castors, and weighing, perhaps, fifty pounds. The first act that was performed was the watch experiment described by 'W.' A gold watch was hung by the chain upon the medium's right hand, his hand clenched, and tied close with a handkerchief. This hand was placed beneath the table, the left hand upon the table. The lights were burning in the room. A request was made that the watch might be opened. Immediately it was heard to swing violently, and the peculiar sounds of opening a watch were heard. The request was made that the watch should be closed on counting three, in order to show that there was an intelligence in the experiment. This was done several times, when, at a signal rap upon the table, the hand was withdrawn, the watch found open, and the cap found thrust tightly between the handkerchief and the medium's hand. The watch was again hung beneath the table without being tied, when it was wrenched from the medium's hand, and placed in that of the friend alluded to in the outset, for whose especial conviction the *odd* spirits seemed disposed to work. He was much startled at the act. The watch was afterwards set at a given hour by the invisibles, and the crystal taken out and placed in the medium's hand.

A large card was then taken, about ten by six inches square, upon which was laid a sheet of paper and a pencil, held by the medium by one end beneath the table, the end by which it was held being marked in order to show that its position did not change, when it was apparently seized by some power beneath the table with an evident intention of taking it out of his hand. The motion of the card was seen by one who sat opposite, and it touched several of the party. The pencil was *heard* to write, and taking up the card, a 'Good evening to all the friends' was found written upon the paper, to have written which the medium must have held the card and written with the same hand, with an entire reversion of the order of writing, for it was to him upside down. This was repeated several times.

The room was then darkened, even to the shutting out of the fire-light—a course which is unsatisfactory to those who are skeptical. But all the trust that was required in a case like the present was merely that in the darkness none of the circle changed their places to perform the wonders experienced, and probabilities were against this, for it was preposterous to suppose that any one, unless endowed with cat-like vision, could traverse that crowded chamber, and pass among those assembled there in the dark, without jostling against or overthrowing some one of them, and the performances evinced a clear perception of everything.

The party then assembled about the table, when, after a few moments' conversation with the invisibles, one said to his neighbor, 'Did you touch me ?'—a question that several about the board asked. A hand, delicate, soft and warm, apparently a child's, was placed upon the back of the writer's hand, and allowed to remain there several seconds, drumming gently all the while. No hand of the circle corresponded to it in form or character. Of this he was positive. The touch was several times repeated. All at the table felt the touch of hands. One of the party, who wore a wig, had a grasp made at that article, and came nigh being scalped. One gentleman, whose hand was resting upon the medium's, was taken by the wrist, and his hand thrown aside. Several were violently seized. The writer hereof had a grasp like a vice upon his knee, and came nigh being drawn from his chair by a sturdy pull at his foot. There was an unmistakable feel of fingers about it all—a spiritual palpability never dreampt of in ghostology, where form without substance was the most that was ever claimed. These performances became, to a degree, terrifying, and one nervous individual left the room, afraid to think that spiritual eyes were looking into his, and that spiritual fingers were picking at his toes.

The room was dark as Erebus, but yet the *od* fellows knew just where to grab. There was no mistake made—no pawing about in the absence of light—but they took hold as if they saw what they were about. Pillows, besides, were thrown with unerring precision, without injury to the gas shades, or any of the pictures or ornaments, of which many were in the room. The top of one of the bed-posts was then taken off, struck violently upon the table, and thrown around in a manner to gently touch all the party. Our infidel friend seized it, and secreted it beneath the table, where, as he afterward said, it was clutched at by the invisible fingers several times. The medium then, in a hoarse, unnatural voice, asked the question, 'How long do you expect to try, before you can catch that hand ?' Our friend confessed to having tried to catch the hand, but it constantly eluded him. There was an evidance in it that, whatever the power was, it could see in the dark.

The last experiment was that of overcoming the law of gravitation. The party formed a circle, the writer hereof, and the individual alluded to in the above paragraph, holding each a hand of the medium, when he was lifted up as far as the arms of those holding him could reach, lifting their arms with him, seemingly as buoyant as the air on which he floated. He lay upon the air horizontally, and his feet touched the heads of those composing the circle. The experiment was several times repeated, others of the party taking him by the hands, with the same result, and even our infidel friend, whose belief in miracles was not, as may be supposed, very acute, confessed it possible, after seeing a man rest upon air, that one might also walk upon water.

—

Trochaics. We wonder if Mr. Longfellow feels flattered, or the reverse, by the universal burlesquing of the measure of Hiawatha. The carriers' addresses this year are very Hiawathan. The *Tribune's* opens thus :—

'Should you ask me whence this poem,
Whence the summary that follws
Of the doings of the twelve-month ?
I should answer, I should tell you,
It was purchased by your Carrier
From a poet in the Bowery !
—Should you ask me where this poet
Got this wondrous New Year Poem,
And especially its measure,
I should say, "I guess he stole it
From *The Song of Hiawatha*—
That tremendous Indian epic,
By an erudite Professor
In the neighborhood of Boston,
Mr. Longfellow, of Cambridge," ' etc.

The *Evening Mirror's* Carrier's Address is in the same out-of-breath-ics. We presume the Bowery poet takes in carrier's addresses to do. He has to thank the author of Hiawatha for making his task a very easy one.

—

Troops for Texas. A detachment of one hundred and thirty recruits, under the command of Brevet Capt. Gordon Granger, U. S. Mounted Rifles, arrived last night in the steamboat N. W. Thomas, from Newport Barracks, en route for Fort McIntosh, Texas. These recruits are destined principally for the Regiment of Mounted Rifles, now serving in Texas.

☞ And also to subserve the purposes of the fillibustering invaders of Mexican territory, with a view to further slavery extension.

—

☞ A shocking tragedy has occurred at Manilla, on board the American ship Waverley. The ship was engaged in conveying Coolies from Amoy to Havana or Callao, (a species of modified slave trade,) when some of the passengers having provoked the mate, he shot one or two, and forced the rest below, when the hatches were fastened down, and the poor wretches kept in their dark, close prison for twelve hours. On re opening the hatches, it was found that 250 of the 440 coolies on board were dead.

KNOW THYSELF.

SELF-KNOWLEDGE promotes health, virtue, happiness.

R. P. WILSON, Psychometric Delineator of Character and Clairvoyant Physician, 285 Seventh street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Terms : For Chart, according to Buchanan's New System of Phrenology, and a written Delineation of Character, $2 00. For Chart as above and Conjugal adaptations, $3 00. For Clairvoyant Examinations and Prescriptions, including Mental Delineations, $5 00.

PSYCHOMETRY. Psychometry is an established science. It is the true method of measuring the power of the mental faculties, and the manifestations of character. By this process, a knowledge of a person's physical power and endurance may be obtained—the intellectual strength and capacity delineated—the spiritual or moral qualities unfolded—the social virtues clearly defined, and the *proper sphere* of action for which each one is adapted, so presented as to ensure *success in life*, if proper directions are carried out. No object can be of more *practical* importance than Psychometry to the parent—the teacher—the student—the physician—the lawyer, or the reformer, for by its wonderful power the secret impulses of action may be discerned, and the *true* methods of directing effort may be clearly made known.

Jan. 4. 4t

THE TRIAL OF THEODORE PARKER

For the Misdemeanor of a speech in Faneuil Hall against Kidnapping, before the Circuit Court of the United States, at Boston, April 3, 1855.

Trade supplied by

JOHN P. JEWETT & CO.

D7 3w

THREE GOOD JOURNALS FOR 1856 ! Well adapted to all readers in every family :

LIFE ILLUSTRATED ; a first class family paper, devoted to News, Literature, Science, the Arts ; to Entertainment, Improvement, and Progress. Published weekly, at $2 a year.

THE WATER-CURE JOURNAL : Hydropathy, its Philosophy and Practice ; Physiology, Anatomy, and the laws of Life and Health. $1 a year.

THE PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL : Devoted to all those Progressive measures for the Elevation and Improvement of mankind. Illustrated. $1 a year.

For Three Dollars all three of these Papers will be sent a year.

☞ Samples gratis. Agenss wantted. Begin now !

FOWLER AND WELLS,
308 Broadway, New York.

Dec. 21. 4t

NOW READY, The Reports on the Laws of New England,

Presented to the N. E. Meeting, convened at the Meionaon, Sept. 19th and 20th, 1855, by Mrs. Davis, Mrs. Dall, and others, and the Resolutions passed at that meeting.

Price, 10 cents. For sale at BELA MARSH'S, No. 13 Franklin street, and 21 Cornhill. The usual discount on large orders. 1f

An Appropriate Bridal Present.

THE TRUE WAY TO SECURE A HAPPY HOME AND HEALTHY CHILDREN.

MARRIAGE AND PARENTAGE,

OR

THE REPRODUCTIVE ELEMENT IN MAN, AS A MEANS TO HIS ELEVATION AND HAPPINESS.

BY HENRY C. WRIGHT.

SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED.

Just published and for sale by BELA MARSH, 1 Franklin street. Price, $1.00.

July 20. 3m

BOSTON

Champooing and Hair-Dyeing SALOON.

MADAME CARTEAUX would respectfully inform the ladies of Boston and vicinity, that her establishment, removed from No. 284 to

365, Washington Street,

is now in successful operation.

She will attend to Cutting and Dressing Ladies' and Children's Hair, Dyeing and Champooing, in the most approved style, and warranting to give satisfaction.

She has also a Hair Restorative, which cannot be excelled, as it produces new hair where baldness has taken place.

N. B. All kinds of Hair Work made to order.

Madame C. has opened a Branch of her Saloon at No. 2, Lonsdale Block, Providence, R. I.

Nov. 16. tf

DR. H. W. MASON, DENTIST.

49 *TREMONT STREET*,

(over Leonard & Co's auction room,)

BOSTON.

DR. M. is a regular graduate in dental medicine and Surgery, and operates on the most reasonable terms.

Boston, Sept. 28, 1855 6m

REMOVAL.

THAXTER & BROTHER, Opticians, (successors to John Pierce,) have removed to

139 WASHINGTON STREET,
Two doors south of School st.

October 19. tf

JOHN OLIVER, CARPENTER,

No. 43 GOUCH STREET, BOSTON.

(Corner of Merrimac street,)

N30 3mos

JUST PUBLISHED,

BIOGRAPHY OF AN AMERICAN BONDMAN. By his Daughter.

For sale at 21 Cornhill. Price 25 cents.

Boston, Jan. 2, 1856.

Worcester Hydropathic Institution,

On Arch and Fountain Streets,

WORCESTER, Mass.

THE Proprietors of this Institution aim to make it a comfortable home for invalids at all seasons. The location is elevated and healthy, and easy of access from all parts of the city.

The medical department is conducted by Dr. S. Rogers, and has never been limited to the exclusive use of water in those cases which seemed to require other treatment.

There has recently been erected a first-class Gymnasium upon the grounds belonging to this institution, which is under the charge of an experienced teacher.

For term, &c., address

E. F. ROGERS, Superintendent.

Out-door practice attended to. Office hours, 2 to 4 P. M.

Worcester, Jan. 25.

COLORED PATRIOTS OF THE American Revolution,

WITH SKETCHES OF SEVERAL

DISTINGUISHED COLORED PERSONS;

To which is added a brief survey of the Condition and Prospects of Colored Americans.

By WM. C. NELL.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY H. B. STOWE.

Just published, and for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill. Price, $1.25.